1929 →

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

Here is told for the first time the full story of Lincoln's visit to New Hampshire in 1860 and its notable influence on his later career.

BY
ELWIN L. PAGE

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN
IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From a tintype

(*See page* 150)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

BY
ELWIN L. PAGE

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1929

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To
B. R. P.
Without whose understanding and
encouragement this work
would never have
been done

PREFACE

WHEN, a few years ago, Dr. William E. Barton published his 'Life of Abraham Lincoln,' I was struck by his emphasizing the failure of the biographers to give adequate consideration to the effect of Lincoln's speeches in New England in the early spring of 1860. Here, I thought, was a field that it might pay to furrow. That nobody else seemed to have done it with much thoroughness made the attempt more attractive. So I set myself to the task which has occupied much of my attention ever since and all of my leisure for more than a year.

But I soon found that the New England field is too broad to be covered by one who has a vocation, not to speak of several avocations, so I have confined my detailed researches to New Hampshire, with only so much in the wider reaches as would serve to explain what occurred here. Even this narrower ground presents the difficulty of nearly seventy years of weed-growth. Through it I may have run but a thin and wavering furrow, yet the plough has turned up a few clods that seem to me to be worth the while of those interested in local lore, and perhaps also of those who love Lincoln.

Aside from the fact that the following chapters cover a phase of Lincoln's career as to which little has before been available in convenient form, I hope they may have some value as an experiment which I think is somewhat novel. They are an attempt to picture Lincoln far away from his accustomed haunts, in a strange setting; to see how he looked to people so like, yet unlike, those at home; in some degree to find how they affected him and how he impressed them.

E. L. P.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN
IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

I

SETTING THE STAGE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN had long been an important figure in Illinois before the East awoke to him. The awakening came in 1858. It is true that at the Republican National Convention of 1856 thirty-two Eastern delegates, of whom exactly a quarter came from New Hampshire, voted for Lincoln on the first informal ballot for Vice-President. Nevertheless, that ballot impressed the East even less than it did Abraham Lincoln, which was very little. It was two years later that the East began really to hear about Lincoln and to talk about him.

That was the year of the 'house divided speech' and of the debates with Douglas. The contest for the senatorship in Illinois between two men who were one-time rivals in love and for a score of years political opponents ended with Lincoln beaten but victorious. The debates echoed throughout the country, and Lincoln, hitherto obscure, became something of a national figure. Everywhere Democrats remarked upon his ef-

frontery in challenging the most powerful statesman of the day. Such advertising did Lincoln no hurt. It rather confirmed Republicans in the belief that here was the miraculous man who could outfight 'the Little Giant.'

But in another thing than reputation Lincoln had won a victory. Against the advice of his friends, he had put Douglas into a dilemma from which the wily judge delivered himself by winning the immediately needed votes in Illinois at the expense of such loss of Southern support as to threaten his chances for the coveted presidency in 1860. Unquestionably here was one of the important factors that divided the Democratic Party so fatally as to make the success of Douglas impossible. This was all in accordance with Lincoln's hope. But when he adopted his masterly strategy in 1858, Lincoln was contemplating party, not personal success. He did not dream then that the loser of 1858 would be the President-elect of 1860.

Lincoln's new-made national reputation was unmistakably indicated in 1859 by a flood of invitations to speak outside his own State. The Republican Central Committee of New Hampshire wrote that if Douglas should come into their State, as was then proposed, they must have Lincoln to answer him. Minnesota desired him. So did Buffalo, Des Moines, and Pittsburgh. Thurlow Weed telegraphed, 'Send Abraham Lincoln to

Albany at once.' Boston invited him to speak on Jefferson's Birthday. But none of these places heard him in the year 1859. In part, perhaps wholly, it was the need of earning a living that kept him at home. Surely no overpowering aspirations for the presidency moved him to deny the demands for his services abroad.

Only two States were successful in drawing him away from Illinois in the year following the Douglas debates. The fall of 1859 found Douglas active in the Ohio campaign. Lincoln was glad to continue the debates in two speeches at Columbus and Cincinnati. In December, Kansas got him for a few addresses.

However, neither these engagements nor that for a New York appearance later were entered into with an eye to the presidency. There is no doubt that the Douglas debates made Lincoln an available candidate for that office, but he was much slower to see it than many of his admirers. Perhaps his fond wife had too long urged his fitness for him to accept the immediate reaction of his friends.

Jesse W. Fell, returning from a trip East in the fall of 1858, told Lincoln that in Boston, in New Hampshire, in all New England except Maine (where he had not been), in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, he had heard Abraham Lincoln talked about. 'Who is this man Lincoln?' Fell declared Lincoln

would make a formidable candidate for President. Lincoln thought this was overenthusiastic; he was unknown, Seward and Chase renowned and more deserving. Fell argued that he was more available. Lincoln allowed that Fell argued well, admitted that he would like to be President, but dismissed the subject with the statement that no such good luck was in store for him.

At that time Lincoln aimed, not for the presidency, but for the senatorship. He would not, he declared, oppose Lyman Trumbull for that office in 1860, but would then fight in the ranks. As late as December, 1859, he would rather have a full term in the Senate than in the presidency. His purpose throughout all of 1859, despite the urging of friends, was to make another campaign against Douglas in 1864. He never really changed his mind until after his tour of the East in the spring of 1860.

When T. J. Pickett, of Rock Island, wrote Lincoln in April, 1859, suggesting an attempt for the presidency, the reply came by return of mail: 'I beg that you will not give it further mention. I do not think I am fit for the Presidency.' When the editor of the 'Central Illinois Gazette' proposed the same thing a few days later, Lincoln gave a firmly negative reply. The editor disregarded his wish, and the paper declared for Lincoln in May. Lincoln, however, held to his own view.

In this situation things drifted, and events slowly developed, without any planning or even foresight on Lincoln's part, which in the end made him President. As late as November 1, 1859, he disclaimed any notion of being a candidate for office in 1860, and doubted the power of events to make him one. It was not until the middle of the winter of 1859–60 that some of the Illinois leaders met him in Springfield and, largely with the idea of getting him the vice-presidency, asked him to allow the use of his name as a candidate for President. Lincoln declared that he would not accept the lower office, but consented to the presidential candidacy in the belief that it would be useful to him in the senatorial campaign to which he still looked forward.

After Lincoln had begun to take his candidacy more seriously, Long John Wentworth told him that 'he needed somebody to run him.' Long John's desire to be the campaign manager was apparent, and Lincoln did not fancy the idea. So he turned him off with the fatalistic remark, 'Only events can make a President.'

Among those events which made Lincoln President was a trivial thing which proved as powerful as any move a campaign manager could conceive. It grew from Lincoln's determination to give his eldest son Robert the schooling he himself lacked. For several years the boy had been at the State University, whose standards were not then such

as they later became. Lincoln decided to send Bob to Harvard. Arriving there in the fall of 1859, Bob took the entrance examinations and, through no fault of his own, flunked fifteen out of sixteen. He was told to remain in the East and to enter Phillips Academy at Exeter, New Hampshire. Apparently this school was chosen because Amos Tuck, an old friend of Lincoln, lived in Exeter. A year of further preparation there, 'devoid of excitement, and full of hard work,' as Robert later said, sent him safely into Harvard in the fall of 1860. At Cambridge his Exeter training enabled him to rank well as a student and to lay the foundation of his distinguished career in law, business, and public service.

Robert Lincoln was always loath in later years to talk for publication about his father. Among his few remarks was that his abysmal flunk at Harvard in 1859 made his father President. During Bob's year at Exeter, we may be sure that Lincoln desired nothing for himself so much as to see his son and to find whether he was really buckling to his job of retrieving himself. The problem of visiting Bob was a financial one. Left more than usually pinched in pocket by neglect of business for politics, Lincoln had returned to his office and the circuit after the Douglas debates. He denied in the next year all but two of the political demands made upon him. He had the increased expense of maintaining Bob at school.

ROBERT T. LINCOLN
The earliest known portrait

Though he kept at work pretty much all of the time, the idea of going East seemed more attractive than practicable.

He won a suit and, it is said, planned to go upon the fee. The client was slow in paying, and temporarily Lincoln gave up hope. However, the way was opened by an offer of two hundred dollars to lecture in Brooklyn. Perhaps it was made easier by an advance for expenses, though the statement to that effect made by one writer may be doubted. The contract to speak in New York was made in October and November of 1859, before Lincoln had been induced to allow his friends to make him a presidential candidate. The desire to visit Robert at his school, not the ambition to forward his own fortunes, was clearly the chief motive for accepting the invitation to make an address in the East. The chance to finance the trip to Exeter appealed to the father, not the politician. The time and the opportunity conspired for larger things than Lincoln contemplated. For, much as Lincoln had grown in national reputation, even with the new year of 1860 he was too little known in the wider field to loom large as a presidential possibility. A more personal touch with the East was necessary for that.

Soon after his fifty-first birthday, Abraham Lincoln took an odd-looking umbrella and a cylindrical leather bag and boarded the train for New York. In the bag was crumpled a new suit.

More to the point, he carried a new speech, with which at the Cooper Institute he faced the most critical audience he had ever addressed. In that speech, the fruit of years of study and meditation, ripe in research, he reviewed the political philosophies of slavery from the Declaration of Independence to the death of John Brown. He swept the throng with him. It was not oratory; it was scholarship of the profoundest sort, falling from the lips of a man untutored by schools but genuinely educated. That was on Monday evening, February 27, 1860.

From New York Lincoln went the next day into New England. Once before, in 1848, he had been there, briefly stumping Massachusetts for the Whigs. He had then pleased, but had made no lasting impression. New England was not a wholly friendly field for an Illinois rail-splitter. Had Lincoln made his second visit primarily as a candidate for the presidency, he would have viewed the New England tour with some humor. He came first of all, however, to see Robert and find what sort of progress he was making Harvard-ward. Incidentally he found in New York that the reputation he had made within two years created a demand for his services as a Republican speaker in the spring campaigns of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. He answered the call readily and, we may be sure, with small idea of what it would do for him. On the morning of the

Cooper Institute speech he envisaged only the possibility of being Vice-President to Seward. After the trip was over, he sat down in Springfield and faced the realizable chance of his nomination for the higher office. To that end he thenceforward and ever-increasingly bent his efforts. Never again was he primarily a lawyer.

But though there was not more than a secondary thought of self in his New England stumping, the chance was one that Lincoln needed. In this section the natural choice was Governor Seward, whose polished radicalism attracted the influential leaders of his party. One might safely say that among the Republicans of New England Seward was something of a god. A foothold here for Lincoln would be difficult but all the more significant. The unforeseen result of the New England tour was disclosed on the first ballot at the Chicago Convention, when Lincoln had nineteen New England votes to thirty-two for Seward, with thirty scattering. On the second ballot New England gave Lincoln thirty-six votes to thirty-three for Seward, with thirteen scattering. On the third and last ballot Lincoln picked up six more New England votes, and Seward lost one. But for this New England support, his nomination would have been impossible.

Lincoln's first New England speech was at Providence on February 28, the evening after the New York appearance. On Wednesday, February

29, he came into New Hampshire, where he made four of his eleven New England speeches. Of the remainder two were made in Rhode Island and five in Connecticut. In the three other New England States there was no spring election to give Lincoln a chance. Massachusetts and Maine were pretty thoroughly committed to Seward, and Vermont had a favorite son. Those three States gave Lincoln but ten votes on the first ballot at Chicago. On the second, Vermont forsook her hopeless favorite son and swung all of her ten votes to Lincoln, while on the third ballot Lincoln annexed four of Seward's Massachusetts friends. On the whole the 'spring election' States where Lincoln campaigned did better for him than the other three States, but by the third ballot he had one more than a majority of all the New England delegates. New Hampshire was more consistently for him than any other New England State. On the first ballot seven of her ten delegates voted for him, and on each of the other ballots he lacked only one New Hampshire delegate, who remained faithful to Seward. In New Hampshire, too, it seems that Lincoln was in general even more enthusiastically received by his audiences than elsewhere in New England.

But while New Hampshire was fertile soil for Lincoln, many elements here were unfavorable. Of course, the Democrats, smarting for five years under unaccustomed reverses, hailed Lincoln with

the rancor which was common in the political encounters of the day. Since Lincoln came here to help elect a Republican Governor, naturally 'The New Hampshire Patriot,' while giving no report of the Concord meeting, in its next issue of March 7, 1860, made such allusion to him as the editor thought most useful.

Under the caption 'They Are Alarmed,' 'The Patriot' said:

> Never since the black republicans came into power in this State, have they manifested such alarm and such a fearful consciousness of impending defeat as they now do. Look at their papers, note their piteous appeals to their followers, mark their desperate expedient of importing the 'great gun' from Illinois, Abe Lincoln . . . These and many other things indicate unmistakably that the black leaders are alarmed. . . . Now is the time for the honest and patriotic men of New Hampshire to strike an effectual blow for the Constitution and the Union, for an honest administration of their home affairs, and for the 'crushing out' of that pestilent and dangerous sectional agitation which is sapping the foundations of our material prosperity.

Another editorial, headed, 'It Means Disunion,' read:

> The 'irrepressible conflict' doctrine of the black republicans means disunion or it means nothing. This doctrine, false, dangerous, revolutionary and treasonable, was first proclaimed by Abraham Lincoln of Illinois in his speech accepting the nomination for Senator in the great contest in which he was so completely overthrown by Douglas. He stated it very briefly in

these words: 'I BELIEVE THIS GOVERNMENT CANNOT ENDURE PERMANENTLY HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE.' In other words, SLAVERY MUST BE ABOLISHED IN THE SLAVE STATES, OR THE GOVERNMENT AND THE UNION MUST BE OVERTHROWN. This is the doctrine of the black republican party, and every intelligent man must see that it is the very essence of Garrison abolitionism.

Let patriotic men reflect upon this matter before they make up their minds to vote for this doctrine. Every vote for the black republican ticket is a vote to endorse and carry into effect this treasonable doctrine. *Remember this on Tuesday next.*

'The Patriot' made no suggestion that Lincoln was a possible presidential nominee, but two notices forecast the nomination of Edward Bates.

Either the 'patriotic men' of New Hampshire did not 'reflect' and 'remember' the injunction of 'The Patriot,' or Abraham Lincoln fixed in their minds a more truthful impression of his opinions than the Democratic organ sought to convey, for the next week 'The Patriot' announced another triumph of the 'black republicans,' greater than before, but looked forward, vainly, for the November election to redeem the State. When November came, Lincoln carried New Hampshire by an unprecedented majority. His margin in Concord was larger than that of her own son, Franklin Pierce, in 1852.

Early in 1860, however, Lincoln had not only Democratic opposition in New Hampshire; he had also to reckon, among the Republicans, with lack

of first-hand knowledge of his personality and power, and also with strong support of Seward's candidacy and a scattering feeling favorable to Frémont (who had carried the State in 1856), as well as some sentiment for Chase (a native of New Hampshire) and for others. Lincoln, in spite of his lately won long-distance reputation, needed personal introduction to the leaders and the voters of his party in New Hampshire. A review of the local political situation may at this point be of value in determining some of the desirable points of contact.

Foremost among Republican political leaders in New Hampshire was John P. Hale, of Dover, then in the United States Senate. He had no touch with Lincoln in this State, but had known him slightly during the years 1847–49 when both were in Washington, one in the Senate, the other in the House. Hale was a man of astounding vigor, mentally and morally. Fearless, implacably opposed to the spread of slavery, he dared as a Democratic member of Congress in 1844 to speak and work against the admission of Texas as a slave State. He had been renominated by his party, and two months before the election issued to his constituents an eloquent declaration of his principles. Whatever Franklin Pierce and other leaders, subservient to Southern opinion, might urge, Hale was no man to be silent when he had convictions. Pierce immediately toured Hale's stronghold, and

in a series of interviews with local leaders arranged that Hale should be deprived of the nomination already given and a new candidate placed in the field. The sole argument used was that if Hale were returned to Congress the New Hampshire Democrats would lose influence with the Southern leaders. The argument sufficed with all but a few.

One Democrat, Amos Tuck, of Exeter, told Pierce that if Hale were expelled, he himself might be thrust out too. Pierce heard no such talk from any other man except John L. Hayes, of Portsmouth. When Pierce said that they 'must throw Hale overboard,' Hayes, though holding Federal office, replied with keen prescience, 'If you do, you will break up the Democratic Party in New Hampshire.' Hayes removed from the State in 1848, but left the impress of his courage behind.

Tuck and Hayes made themselves the nucleus of a rebellious group called 'Independent Democrats.' They put up Hale as a third candidate, and fought four hard campaigns in each of which there was no choice. They started a newspaper, 'The Independent Democrat,' of which George G. Fogg soon became editor. In the 'Hale-storm' they covered the whole State, Congressmen being then chosen at large. In the spring of 1846 they turned to for the Free-Soil candidate for Governor, threw the election into the Legislature, and sent Hale to the State House of Representatives with enough independents to hold the balance of power

between the Whigs and the Democrats. In the Legislature they made a glorious deal with the Whigs which gave the State a Whig Governor for the first time in nearly twenty years, made Fogg Secretary of State and sent Hale to the United States Senate. There Hale was a man without a party, the only anti-slavery Senator for two years, fighting nobly and alone, a pariah. The Independent Democrats did more. With the help of anti-slavery men of all parties, they elected Amos Tuck to Congress, where the Democrats refused him a seat on their side of the House. Relegated to the back row of the Whig side, he found himself four seats from Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

The cause of freedom in New Hampshire had looked so dark in 1844 that Garrison cried:

> On the question of negro emancipation, the heart of New Hampshire is as hard as her own granite; she is as desperately perverted as it is in the power of corrupt priests and political demagogues to make her. So hardened is she that she cannot blush. . . . She does not belong to New England, but should cut from her moorings and float southward, to find a geographical position between Texas and Louisiana. . . . Yet she may not be wholly beyond recovery; she has some of the choicest spirits to be found anywhere on the wide earth, and there is hope while such dwell on her political soil.

Even in 1845 Emerson wrote bitterly:

> 'The God who made New Hampshire
> Taunted the lofty land with little men —
> Small bat and wren

House in the oak:
If earth-fire cleave
The upheaved land and bury the folk,
The Southern Crocodile would grieve.
For who, with accent bolder,
Dare praise the freedom-loving mountaineer?
I found by thee, O rushing Contoocook!
And in thy valley, Agiochook!
The jackals of the negro-holder.'

Great was the rejoicing among Massachusetts men of letters when the Independent Democrats won their great skirmish. Whittier wrote a skit in which the overturn of 1846 was thus lamented by Franklin Pierce to Moses Norris, a New Hampshire pro-slavery man in Congress:

"Tis over, Moses! all is lost!
I hear the bells a-ringing
Of Pharaoh and his Red Sea host —
I hear the Free-Wills singing.
We're routed, Moses, horse and foot,
If there be truth in figures,
With federal Whigs in hot pursuit,
And Hale, and all the "niggers."
. . . . . .
'We thought the "Old Man of the Notch"
His face seemed changing wholly;
His lips seemed thick, his nose seemed flat,
His misty hair looked woolly.
And Coos teamsters, shrieking, fled
The metamorphosed figure:
"Just look! — that old stone cuss," they said,
"Himself is turnin' nigger." '

But Whittier expressed his elation in loftier tones a year earlier in 'New Hampshire, 1845':

'God bless New Hampshire! from her granite peaks
Once more the voice of Stark and Langdon speaks.'

However, the battle was not won. The Independent Democrats fought on precariously. There was no real coalition with the Free-Soilers and the friendly elements in the Whig Party. The 'hunker' regulars regained temporarily their lost ground, though Hale and Tuck remained at Washington until 1853 and had during the first four of those six years the Whig support of James Wilson. In 1852, Hale made his forlorn run for the presidency upon the Free-Soil ticket. As he humorously stated in the Philadelphia Republican Convention four years later, 'I had been in the minority so long that I made a most excellent candidate when they expected to be defeated.'

In 1853, things seemed to be in an *impasse*. Tuck was out of Congress. Wilson had removed to California. Hale could not be reëlected. The most that was possible was to keep the Legislature from electing a Senator, but the Democrats again had the Governor and he made an appointment.

Then Tuck conceived the bold idea of uniting all of the anti-slavery elements of the State — Whig, Independent Democrat, Free-Soil, Know-Nothing — into a new party. In October, 1853, he got together secretly in Exeter thirteen other men, including, besides Hale and Fogg, Asa McFarland, the Whig leader of Concord. Tuck suggested that all party names be dropped and that

the four factions unite under the name Republican. His suggestion was unanimously approved, and thus was projected the first Republican Party in any State. But the Whig and Free-Soil Parties, though already extinct nationally, died lingering deaths in New Hampshire. Meanwhile the opponents of slavery made a successful rally around the Know-Nothing ticket in 1855, and Hale went back to the Senate. The new party did not function effectively in New Hampshire until the Frémont campaign.

George G. Fogg became a power in the National Republican Party at the beginning. He attended the preliminary convention at Pittsburgh in February, 1856, and was made a member of the executive committee. He and Amos Tuck were active delegates at Philadelphia in June, and with their New Hampshire brethren voted for Abraham Lincoln for Vice-President. At that convention Fogg was elected a member of the National Committee.

New and even younger men had then risen to leadership in New Hampshire. Edward H. Rollins, of Concord, became Republican State Chairman in 1856. William E. Chandler, although not of age, was then an active worker. Ten days after his twenty-first birthday, he went upon the State Committee. Nehemiah G. Ordway, of Warner and Concord, early showed qualities of leadership. It used to be said that 'Ordway

caught 'em, Chandler tamed 'em, and Rollins sold 'em' — probably a Democratic insinuation that the Black Republicans were merely slaves. The fact was that rough-and-ready Ordway had a knack of going out and bringing in droves of recruits. Chandler, with enormous vitality and sagacity, organized them. Rollins, a consummate executive, worked them with such skill that no political force in New Hampshire has ever been more trustworthy and effective. The three became, in ten years' time, a sort of triumvirate in party management. The secretary of the State Committee in 1860 was Benjamin F. Prescott, a young lawyer who practiced in Concord, although his home was in Epping. He was destined to become Governor before many years had passed.

These were the men whom it was chiefly desirable to impress in New Hampshire. While John P. Hale was in Washington when Lincoln came to the State, the two were already acquainted, and Hale could not fail to hear from home some echoes of Lincoln's visit. And so it must have been with the rest of the New Hampshire delegation at Washington. Chandler, probably because of campaign work elsewhere in the State, did not meet Lincoln in New Hampshire, but what affected Rollins and Ordway affected him almost as if he were on the spot. The rest of the leaders named all came into close touch with Lincoln during his short stay. It was under such leader-

ship that between 1853 and 1858, five thousand, possibly ten thousand, New Hampshire voters left the Democratic Party. The age of the leaders is suggestive. Of the veterans, Tuck was not yet fifty and Fogg was not quite forty-five when Lincoln visited New Hampshire. Rollins was thirty-five, Ordway about the same age, Chandler less than twenty-four.

But besides them there were numerous local men of secondary importance. In Concord there was Judge Ira Perley, who had shared with Asa McFarland the local Whig leadership. In Manchester there were Frederick Smyth, the head of the local Republican organization, and Ezekiel A. Straw, both destined for the Governor's chair. In Dover, there were the two Whig war-horses, battle-scarred Daniel M. Christie and Thomas E. Sawyer, besides the venerable Andrew Peirce, and newer men like George W. Benn and George Mathewson and Richard N. Ross. In Exeter there were James M. Lovering and William B. Morrill. And back of the leaders, great and small, were the thousands of electors, whose approval or disapproval could be both vocal and effective.

As to the chief characters in the scene, the stage is now set. But before Lincoln appears, some few developments of recent date should be mentioned. McFarland's Republican 'Statesman' of Concord not long before had committed itself to Seward under some compulsion. The publishers desired

to get from the radical Republican Legislature the valuable post of state printers. The incumbent was George G. Fogg, publisher of 'The Independent Democrat,' Concord's rival Republican paper. Fogg's sheet, jealous of privilege already his, questioned the radicalism of 'The Statesman.' The McFarland paper immediately set all doubts at rest by declaring for Seward for President. This was just after the 'irrepressible conflict' speech, when Seward was the Eastern idol of radicalism. So Lincoln had to overcome in New Hampshire a somewhat strong pro-Seward bias.

Fogg was rather favorable to Frémont early in 1860. In an editorial as late as April 19, 1860, seven weeks after Lincoln's visit and a week before the State Convention met to name delegates to the Chicago Convention, Fogg suggested five possible Republican candidates, heading his list with Frémont and not even naming Lincoln. A week later, on the very day of the New Hampshire Convention, he mentioned twelve possibilities, with Seward in first place and Lincoln in fifth, but quoted correspondence in the 'New York Tribune' favorable to Frémont.

At the regular State Convention on January 3, 1860, the choice of delegates to the National Convention had been deferred until after the spring election. According to 'The Patriot,' probably somewhat hopefully and mostly untruthfully, this was but the postponement, through fear, of an

'irrepressible conflict' between two wings of the party on the presidential question. At the January Convention 'Jack' Hale made an urgent appeal not to send delegates 'pledged to any man.' 'The Patriot' gleefully supposed that this was done so that Hale might trade at Chicago, but Hale was not elected a delegate. The truth probably was that there was not in January any possibility of agreement in New Hampshire upon a presidential candidate. Few seem to have had determined opinions, and those who had differed rather widely but not angrily. Even when the delegates were chosen on April 26, 1860, no resolutions were passed and no pledges exacted. The intriguing 'Patriot' supposed the majority elected were Frémont men, adding, 'yet all are expediency men.' They proved pretty good at expedients, for the great majority were with Lincoln from the first. Something happened in New Hampshire to settle the matter between January and May, and that was the coming of the visible personality and the keen logic of Abraham Lincoln himself.

'I made the speech' (at the Cooper Union), wrote Lincoln on April 6, 'and left for New Hampshire, where I have a son at school.' This schoolboy son was the attraction, not personal political advantage. But how came his New Hampshire speeches to be arranged? The explanation as to Exeter is obvious. Amos Tuck must have made the suggestion. William B. Morrill, president of

PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY.

Dec 2d 1860

Dear Mother-

You see I am back at Exeter and I feel very much at home- I am here with Dick Meconkey- We have been in a constant round of dissipation since we came- On Thursday we were at dinner at Miss Gale's On Friday Mr Sneb gave a large party, which passed off very finely- Mr. D. thinks of going to Chicago in

about three weeks and then to St. Louis. So look out for him —

Tonight we are invited out to tea which will wind up our fun as we have to commence study again tomorrow —

We have only about six weeks more before going home —

I see by the papers that you have been to Chicago. Think you beginning to get a little tired of this constant uproar?

I have a couple of friends from St. Louis who are going to the inauguration after vacation is over and I have invited them to stop at our house on their road. They are nice fellows and have been with me for the last years

You will remember I wrote to Father about a fellow who is boring me considerably - He copped the chimney lately. There was a Republican dinner and supper at Cambridge to which I was invited - I did not go, for I anticipated what really happened.

I was sitting in my room, about 9½ and when two boys came up and handed me an admission ticket on the back of which this fellow had written, asking me to come over as they were calling for me - I wrote him a note excusing myself - He must be the biggest fool in the world not to know that I did not want to go over, when if I did, I would be expected

to make a speech! Just
phancy my pikelinks mounted
on the rostrum, holding
"a vast sea of human faces" &c.
I stop overwhelmed.

Yours affectionately
A. Lincoln

the local Republican caucus, invited Lincoln to speak. The story as to Dover will be given later. As to Concord and Manchester, all the hopeful trails have been followed. While no sure answer can be given, several possibilities may be stated.

Amos Tuck, who lived at Exeter and was a trustee of the Academy, knew Robert and probably learned through him of the expected visit of his colleague of the back row in Washington in 1847 and 1848. In common with others, he had not been greatly impressed by Lincoln's promise in those earlier years, but had listened with enjoyment to his speeches, including the famous one which pilloried poor General Cass. In the intervening years he had kept somewhat in touch with Lincoln and from a distance had watched his career. It is more than likely that Tuck told Rollins that here might be a good man to help in the pending State campaign.

There is another story that will not down. In the Ordway family there is to this day a tradition that the robust sheriff of Merrimack County conceived the idea of making use of Lincoln and that it was at his solicitation that the arrangements were made.

Thirty-six years after the event, Moses Humphrey, of Concord, wrote his recollections of Lincoln's visit. In some respects his memory played tricks, and on the point in question he may have been wrong. Lincoln, he said, was invited to

speak by the Republican State Committee, upon the suggestion of George H. Hutchins and others who had heard Lincoln in Chicago during the Douglas campaign. As Hutchins went to Illinois on business from time to time, there may be some truth to this story.

This reminiscence by Moses Humphrey led to others, including one by Isaac Andrew Hill, according to whom the surviving members of the Democratic Frémont Club, of which Hill had been secretary, 'with the advice of others (Republicans), upon the suggestion of Col. Calvin C. Webster, who had heard "Old Abe" at Chicago a few days before,' deemed it advisable 'to invite Mr. Lincoln to speak before the club and to members of all parties upon slavery.' This recollection overlooked the unquestioned fact that Lincoln's Concord appearance (the one referred to) was purely a partisan rally. Moreover, no record is found that Lincoln spoke in Chicago shortly before he came East, although Calvin C. Webster may have heard him there at some time.

The 'Life and Public Service of Frederick Smyth' claims for him the honor of inviting Lincoln to make the Manchester speech, but the same claim is made for Ezekiel A. Straw in 'The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company: A History.' None of these statements, it seems, was put into print until more than a score of years after Lincoln's visit. Several of them may conceivably have

truth, for more than one man may have made the suggestion. In default of contemporary record, the most plausible supposition is that the Concord and Manchester speeches were booked through the customary channels of the Republican State Committee.

We may imagine that to the Republican State Headquarters, which was in the back room of the Rollins drug store just north of the Eagle Hotel in Concord, came Fogg from 'The Independent Democrat' office in Exchange Block, Secretary Benjamin F. Prescott from his law office in the same building, Chandler from his law office in Hill's Block, and Sheriff Ordway from the Court-House. They probably determined the datings. The invitation, according to the Ordway tradition, was written by the sheriff. Possibly the letter reached Lincoln at New York, and the answer was mailed from there, but as to such details the tradition is silent, and if the correspondence was preserved, it has not come to light.

Before Lincoln left New York for Providence, it was expected that he would speak in Exeter on the evening of Wednesday, February 29. Why that speech was deferred until Saturday is not known.

Lincoln probably left Providence Wednesday morning at twenty minutes before eleven. The earlier train, before eight, would have brought him into Boston too early for his Exeter train. Going at the time supposed, he would arrive in

Boston, at the station on Pleasant Street, opposite Eliot, shortly after half-past twelve. This gave him ample time to eat his dinner and cross the city to the Boston and Maine station at Haymarket Square, whence he took train for Exeter at half-past two. At twenty-seven minutes past four he reached Exeter.

Lincoln's first business in New Hampshire was to make an engagement to speak at Dover. Hearing that Lincoln was to be in Exeter, George W. Benn, chairman of the Dover Republican Committee, sent this letter:

DOVER, N.H., *Feb.* 27, 1860

MY DEAR SIR: — There is a report in circulation here at this time, that your father is shortly to be at Exeter and will probably remain a few days. Supposing you to be in communication with him, my purpose in writing to you is to ascertain whether it is possible that he can be persuaded to deliver an address upon political topics before the citizens of this city previous to our State election, March 13. Great enthusiasm is manifested by our people to hear him, and our city hall, holding nearly 1500 persons, would be filled to welcome one who faced Douglas on the stump, the latter being the exponent of the now so-called Democracy of this State. Hoping to hear from you at once, I remain

Your Obt. Servant

GEORGE W. BENN

Chairman of Republican
Central Committee, Dover, N.H.

To —— LINCOLN, son of A. Lincoln.

Benn did not know Robert's name, but the let-

ter was duly delivered. It was the son of Mary Lincoln, no less than the son of Abraham, who answered thus:

EXETER, *February* 28

DEAR SIR: — Your letter did not reach me until this evening. Mr. Lincoln is to speak in Providence, R.I., this evening, and will be here as soon as possible after that — probably to-morrow afternoon. I will give him your letter as soon as he arrives and he will answer it for himself, though I have no doubt he will be happy to comply with your kind invitation should his time permit.

Yours truly,

R. T. LINCOLN

To G. W. BENN.

In consequence of this letter the Dover Committee sent Walcott Hamlin, William S. Stevens, and George Mathewson to Exeter on the 29th. As soon as Lincoln arrived that afternoon, they interviewed him, and carried back to Dover his promise to speak there on March 2. Having already promised the same date to Hartford, Lincoln telegraphed postponing his speech there until the 5th.

II

CONCORD

At three minutes before seven o'clock on Wednesday morning, March 1, Lincoln left Exeter and went by train to Lawrence, Massachusetts, where he changed cars and went through Manchester to Concord. The train left Lawrence at half-past eight. At Lawrence, or perhaps on the Boston–Concord train, which he boarded there, Lincoln bought the 'Boston Journal' and occupied the hour and a quarter of the run to Manchester in reading. With Lincoln were his son Robert and Robert's Exeter chum, George C. Latham, of Springfield, Illinois. Robert was about to be an eye-witness of events in New Hampshire which qualified him for expert testimony as to the effects of his flunk at Harvard. As the election drama began to unfold, these two school-boys were the companions of Lincoln. A year later, traveling again with the President-elect from Springfield to Washington for the inauguration, the two youths must have thought with wonder and satisfaction of those days of small beginnings in New Hampshire when they were silent figures in events which had their part in making possible the glorious affair of March 4, 1861.

At Manchester, Lincoln was joined by Frederick

Smyth, the local Republican leader, who found him still interested in the 'Boston Journal.' After the immediate amenities were over, Lincoln remarked that he had just been reading Seward's speech of the day before in the Senate. Smyth inquired Lincoln's opinion of the speech, which was one of delight and approval. Lincoln thought that the speech would make Seward the next President. Smyth, not having yet read the speech, was otherwise minded and told Lincoln so. Apparently Smyth was one of the far-seeing ones who realized that Seward was not quite available. If he had at the moment any opinion as to who was the logical nominee, he kept it to himself for the time being. Later in the day he had a definite notion and expressed it in no uncertain tones.

It was not until noon of Wednesday, February 29, that word reached Concord that Lincoln would find it practicable to visit the town on the following day. There was no daily paper in Concord, but 'The Independent Democrat' of the next day was just in press. In it this brief announcement was hurriedly placed:

GRAND REPUBLICAN RALLY!
HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
of Illinois, will speak at
Phenix Hall,
on Thursday, March 1, at 1½ o'clock, P.M.

With equal haste bills 'were soon struck off, and

sent out as extensively as the brief time would allow.' Since its erection in 1855, Phenix Hall has been the scene of more political gatherings of importance than any other place in New Hampshire. It was destined now, while still new, to stage the most significant meeting of all its history.

The train arrived in Concord at half-past ten. Probably the Lincoln party went directly from the station to their hotel, the Phenix, which advertised, 'Patrons of the House taken to and from the Depot free.' Transportation was presumably furnished by Peter Dudley & Son, who conducted the stable in the rear of the hotel. This hotel was chosen because Lincoln's time in town was to be brief; it was next door to the hall and near to the station. Moreover, the Phenix had years before been the congregating place for the Whigs, and its political atmosphere was right. It was then kept by Robert N. Corning and Samuel Clark, and the latter was probably the landlord who greeted Lincoln. The Phenix Hotel was then a three-story building. In the south end of the ground floor was the lobby, entered through a recessed and pillared porch fronting on Main Street. From the third floor of the hotel a bridge spanned the alley on the south to Phenix Hall.

Before dinner-time the party went up Main Street a half-mile to visit the Court-House. Lincoln saw an almost totally different town from that we know, scarcely over ten thousand in popula-

WHERE LINCOLN SPOKE IN CONCORD

LINCOLN'S HEADQUARTERS IN CONCORD

tion. The landmarks of any place are its public buildings. Could we be set back to 1860, with no pictures in mind other than the actualities of today, and travel the route of Lincoln up Main Street, we should not recognize, except for the then new Saint Paul's Church, now somewhat enlarged and changed, a single public building. The State House and the Court-House are altered beyond recognition. If you went up Main Street on March 1, 1860, with your only dream picture an inverted memory of the aspect of 1928, you might with difficulty recognize a small portion of the business buildings lining the east side of the street, but if you stopped on the steps of the Eagle Hotel opposite the State House and looked across to the west side, only one familiar group would you see from the present American House to Warren Street opposite Phenix Hall — the Upham-Walker house, Saint Paul's Church, and the much-changed and scarcely recognizable building east of the church formerly occupied by the Episcopalians — all on Park Street. Everything else would be utterly strange. From the Court-House knoll you might view the scene with a sense of greater familiarity. Up the street you could glimpse the battlemented end of the old Historical Society Building, while over across would be the solid bulks of the McFarland house and of the Sanborn house, where, a few months after Lincoln unseeingly saw it, Stephen A. Douglas was to sleep.

When Lincoln arrived at the Court-House, Judge Asa Fowler and a jury were engaged in just such a trivial case as Lincoln had many times tried in his life on the circuit. Leonard Bell, described as a gentleman and farmer, desired James K. Whitney, a laborer at Abbot's carriage factory, to pay a small note. Anson S. Marshall represented the plaintiff and Charles C. Rogers the defendant. Entering the building by the north, or right-hand door, Lincoln climbed the interminable stairway to the second floor where the court-room suite was located. With his long legs he could easily have halved the number of heart-breaking steps.

Judge Fowler, learning that Lincoln was in the anteroom, took a recess, and Smyth introduced Lincoln and his son to the judge and the members of the bar who were present. The interview was one which it is easy to believe, as Smyth later recalled, delighted all who participated. For Marshall it had an ill omen not at the moment discerned. He held a commission from President Buchanan as United States Attorney, which he was soon to lose when Lincoln appointed a Republican.

Forty-nine years later, W. H. H. Patch avouched a clear memory of seeing Lincoln drawn down Main Street by four beautiful black horses and standing up in the carriage the better to be seen. There is no contemporary account of this picturesque scene, and the pelting rain that fell on

March 1, 1860, somewhat dulls the picture. However, Lincoln surely had to come down Main Street before he could eat dinner at the Phenix Hotel.

After dinner the audience gathered at the hall under the watchful but friendly eye of City Marshal John Kimball, later mayor. Helping him, doubtless, was Concord's only full-time policeman, Night Watchman Edward E. Sturtevant. One fancies that Sturtevant had arisen from his daily sleep in his lodgings at the Phenix Hotel just in time to eat in the same room with Lincoln. Would that these two men might have known each other! In scarcely more than a year Sturtevant was to be the first Concord man to answer Lincoln's call for volunteers. He did more than answer; he set up a recruiting tent in the grass plot between Main Street and the State House yard and enrolled Concord's quota the same day, twenty-four hours before the Governor issued his proclamation. Not long after, Sturtevant rose to be a major in the famous 'Fighting Fifth' and fell at Fredericksburg. For two generations he has been held in memory by the name of the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic. One wonders if Lincoln's visit did not do much to make Sturtevant and others answer, 'We are coming, Father Abraham!'

Among those in the audience who were soon to respond as volunteers was W. H. H. Patch, of the Second New Hampshire. The close of the war

found him stationed at the Alexandria repair shops, where he was one of those who prepared the funeral car and fashioned the catafalque that bore Lincoln to his burial in Springfield. With his own hands Patch lovingly disposed the draperies.

While the crowd was climbing the two flights to Phenix Hall, some of the faithful chatted with Lincoln in the northwest corner room of the second floor of the building. 'Miah Ordway was there, six feet four plus the heels of his shoes. Lincoln never lost a chance to match height with other tall men and had a naïve vanity when he overtopped them. He and Ordway stood back to back, and Lincoln had to admit he was fairly matched, for a book placed as a bridge from head to head kept a perfect level.

The hour for the meeting was inconvenient, the notice meager, the day was dismal. Rain had fallen all the previous night and in large quantities for several hours. The snow had melted, the roads were muddy, and the traveling was execrable. At midday the temperature was only slightly above freezing. Had the weather been fair, the hall could not have held half who would have come. As it was, though all the settees were taken from the floor except two in the front occupied by aged men, the crowd was 'packed in like sardines in a box.' Every neighboring town had its delegation there. Some few women braved the elements and found places in the hall. It was a fairly friendly

audience that had gathered on twenty-four hours' notice to hear the rail-splitter who had met the redoubtable 'Little Giant.' Those who came, as 'The Statesman' prophetically remarked two days later, would 'never regret the inconveniences experienced in order to be present.'

Among those present were the jurors sitting in the Supreme Judicial Court. Marshall, who represented the plaintiff, may, with the jurors, have caught a hasty dinner and gone to hear Lincoln. Rogers, for the defendant, must pretty surely have gone. Most, if not all, the jurors attended, whether upon the panel then engaged or not. They kept anxious eyes upon their watches until they discovered that Judge Asa Fowler was also in Phenix Hall and as curious as they. Thereafter they watched him from the corners of their eyes for the signal of retreat to the humdrum of the evidence. Judge Fowler heard the speech through and so did the jurors. The defendant got a verdict, and Judge Fowler may have walked to his home (now the Streeter house) with Juryman John Abbott, his nextdoor neighbor, discussing the speech on the way.

It was a quarter before two before a murmur of applause greeted Lincoln's arrival in the hall. The murmur changed to cheers as Edward H. Rollins led Lincoln to the platform. 'Mr. Lincoln,' as Isaac A. Hill recalled many years later, 'was seated on the westerly side of the platform. He

curled up in his chair, his collar lopped down on one side, necktie all awry in old-fashioned style, face dark and dismal, clothing ancient and hanging loose on his thin, lank body; in fact he looked wan and care-worn, tired out.'

Rollins opened the meeting with a brief speech, inevitably alluding to the Douglas debates, and introduced the speaker amid great enthusiasm.

At five minutes before two, Lincoln began his speech. He must leave for Manchester in a bit more than an hour and a half. He used nearly all of that time, for he had much to say. Therefore, as the newspaper report runs, he 'proceeded with no circumlocution whatever' into 'one of the ablest, most closely reasoned and eloquent speeches ever listened to in Concord,' a speech described as 'masterly and massive.' Lincoln was 'master of his subject and his audience.'

He began by alluding to his becoming accustomed in the Douglas debates to a large degree of give-and-take. Douglas had been very kind to him, and though sharp and sarcastic at times, he thought him a pretty good fellow, in spite of his being a Democrat. If any member of that party in Concord thought the speaker made a misstatement, he wished him to rise in his seat and say so. He (Lincoln) would then try to convince him on the spot. He would rather have an opponent get up and say, 'You lie, sir,' than to go away and say the speaker had deceived the people. So goes the

story as told many years later. According to another version, Lincoln asked the audience to 'sass back.' In the middle of the speech, William F. Goodwin, a lawyer, rose from his seat in the center of the gallery and put a question. Some hissed, but Lincoln said he was glad of the interruption. At the end of the colloquy that followed, Goodwin, who wrote for 'The Democratic Standard,' a virulent paper taking the extreme pro-slavery view and reputed to have financial support from the South, was said to have admitted himself in the wrong.[1]

Naturally there was not a little in the Concord speech that was reminiscent of the Cooper Union address. Lincoln announced at the beginning that he should speak upon the only political question before the country — that of the extension of human slavery in America. This question, he said, was of a magnitude much greater than most men imagined. It was both important and difficult to settle it. At the North its aspect was that of four millions of human beings robbed of their God-given and inalienable rights; at the South it presented the case of two thousand millions of property. In either view the question assumed such vastness that the human mind grew dizzy before it.

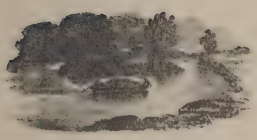
The first thing to consider in dealing with slavery was the right and wrong of it. Was it right?

[1] A note in the appendix tells how Goodwin later obtained from Lincoln an inscribed copy of the 'Douglas Debates.'

Was it wrong? If right, it should be encouraged. If wrong, it should be discouraged. And every man who thought it wrong was bound to aid in discouraging it. The Republican Party thought it wrong. The founders of our government thought it wrong. Washington, Jefferson, and Madison thought it wrong, and excluded it from all of the Territories of the West. They refused to allow the word 'slave' in the Constitution. The whole South, at that day, thought slavery a wrong and anxiously looked forward to its early extinction.

Latterly, however, a great change had been going on. Not only the South, but the whole Democratic Party of the North, had found out that slavery was no wrong at all. Mr. Douglas had announced that 'the Almighty had drawn a line across the American continent,' one side of which was proper to be cultivated by free labor, and the other side by slave labor. The Democratic theory in the North was now that slavery should go wherever the climate and soil would render it profitable, and that it was nobody's business except that of the persons immediately interested in it as a matter of dollars and cents. If slavery was profitable anywhere, it should go there. This theory was wanting in patriotism, was oblivious of all moral distinctions, and utterly at war with the spirit of the Constitution as our fathers made it.

Such was the substance of the speech as it has come down to us from the country reporters of the



Hon. A. Lincoln, CONCORD, N. H. May 17 1860.

SIR,

THE NEW-HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Acknowledge the receipt from you of one copy of
"Political Debates"

as a donation *for the use of said Society. You will please accept their thanks for this expression of your interest in the objects of their Institution.*

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

William L. Goodwin LIBRARIAN.

P.S. Can't you send us a "Rail"?

day. Lincoln, in the full sweep of his speaking was the despair of even experienced reporters. It is not surprising that no more of Lincoln's Concord speech was preserved. Most of what we have comes down to us from George G. Fogg, who had, for a small-town man, superior journalistic ability, but even Fogg gave up in despair, as many better men had done before him, and confessed that he lacked 'the ability to give any adequate idea of the power and eloquence of the speech.' All agreed that it was closely reasoned, powerful, logical and compacted, candid and convincing. Every position was fortified by proofs. While at intervals he enlivened his speech, as he commonly did, by shrewd hits at the opposing party and by apt and homely illustrations, 'not a single word . . . tended to impair the dignity of the speaker or weaken the force of the great truths he uttered.' Lincoln was then at the height of his political speaking. He never reached greater heights until Gettysburg and the Second Inaugural, which were not in the least political speeches.

Of the illustrations used in the Concord speech, strangely enough only one has survived. Slavery was compared to a snake which had crawled into bed with the children. The difficulty was how to deal with the snake without hurting the children.

As to the manner of the man, Rollins wrote for the North country this impression: 'It is worth a long walk to see the man. He is a unique speci-

men of the human family. Long, lank, and awkward, he presents a picture of the real Yankee. His voice is pitched on a high key and is anything but musical, but these oddities and peculiarities which would seem to detract from the efficiency of an orator all go to gain the sympathy of his hearers and to make his speeches what they are.'

Lyman D. Stevens, later mayor of Concord, recorded a half-century after the event, at the age of eighty-eight, some memories of the speech. They accord so clearly with what was written in 1860 that his impressions of Lincoln's manner and method are entitled to credit. What he chiefly recalled were the qualities of force and conviction which enabled the speaker, in spite of the use of 'peculiar facial and lingual expressions,' to sway the audience at will — one moment to laughter, the next to tears. Stevens, by the way, was one of the New Hampshire commissioners who heard Lincoln at Gettysburg. He challenged the idea that Edward Everett then 'got all the cheers.' He thought that, as to the impression made, the exact reverse was true. As to himself he said, 'I felt as though my soul was not a tenth part big enough to take in Lincoln's speech.'

Lincoln was too little polished in manner to rank as an orator of the accepted school. His bearing was a bit uncouth, his gestures awkward and often inappropriate. Some weeks after his Concord speech 'The Statesman' answered the

charge of the Manchester 'Union Democrat' that Lincoln was no orator by a plea of confession and avoidance. 'That he is a polished speaker,' said McFarland, 'no man of sense will affirm, but that he has the power to produce the most permanent conviction upon men, and move the masses to active effort, none but fools will deny. . . . We confess, however, that our candidate is "no orator," but a plain, blunt, honest man, and so dismiss the charge.' The writer had already stated that the secret of Lincoln's strength was his 'irresistible logical force and power.'

Lincoln as a speaker did not at once compel attention. If men listened carefully, they were at length aroused to moral conviction as they were carried along by this 'irresistible logical force and power.' Even Democrats were not immune, whether in Concord or elsewhere. But Lincoln had to be given time and attention, else the power did not penetrate. In Concord some few of the audience left the hall before they had time to see behind the peculiarities that sometimes seemed ridiculous or even repellent. But nearly everybody remained throughout the long speech, in perfect silence except to applaud some sharp hit at the Democrats. At the close, however, those seated in the gallery rose to their feet and the whole audience, completely won, cheered Lincoln full-throatedly.

Calvin C. Webster, who was then a grocer in the

store now occupied by Weston L. Fickett, had gone up into the hall. We of middle age remember him as a somewhat dignified old gentleman. He had then a good deal of youthful ardor, and tradition has it that at the close of the speech, he nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency, whereat there was great shouting. He surely went at once to Henry McFarland and said, 'That man will be the next President of the United States.' In his enthusiasm, Webster followed Lincoln to the Phenix Hotel, seized him by both hands, and made a similar remark to him. Lincoln, in his haste to get his bag and himself to the three-thirty train, had only time for the characteristic remark that a good many men wanted to be President. Webster, however, was not downcast. A few weeks later, he went to Chicago and helped to nominate Abraham Lincoln.

After Lincoln's departure knots of men gathered to talk over the speech. From Judge Ira Perley to the laborer, all joined in praise, nor were the Democrats much less appreciative than the Republicans. A group of the latter happened into the law office of Samuel G. Lane, who, though a Democrat, had been impressed by the speech. Turning to them, Lane said, 'That is the man for you people to nominate for the presidency.' Nor was Lane alone among Democrats. One of the elderly men on the settees down front was Samuel Brooks, a staunch Jeffersonian Democrat. Moses

Humphrey, standing near, thought Brooks disclosed some signs of nervousness, and was pleased to recall a generation later that the old gentleman was apparently troubled by what Lincoln said. Humphrey did not know that Brooks set down in his diary that night, 'I liked most of what he said.'

Humphrey, a year later mayor, happened to go to Boston on the train Lincoln took. Lincoln invited him to sit with him, and they chatted for a time. Years later Humphrey recalled some of the circumstances erroneously. Correctly, however, he must have remembered the only scrap of the conversation that stayed in mind. Humphrey's mother belonged to the Hingham Lincolns. Something in Lincoln's look reminded Humphrey of his mother's connections. Did Lincoln or his ancestors originate in Hingham? he asked. Lincoln could not tell.

It seems likely that, as Frederick Smyth many years later recalled, Lincoln made some talk on the train about what he should say at Manchester in the evening, and that Smyth advised the repetition of the Concord speech. It is doubtful, however, that Lincoln said, as Smyth reported: 'That I cannot do, as I never wrote out a political speech, or made two alike.' It is certain that Lincoln made substantially the same speech at Concord, Manchester, Dover, and Exeter, and that it had a strong resemblance to the carefully written Cooper Union address.

III

MANCHESTER

The hurry and confusion attendant upon Lincoln's eleventh-hour bookings for New Hampshire are more strikingly illustrated in Manchester than elsewhere. The first tentative announcement of his coming, in 'The Daily American' for Wednesday, February 29, read: 'We have the promise of Abraham Lincoln, "Glorious Old Abe," tomorow [*sic*] night at Smyth's Hall, but Nashua also claims him. The question will be settled tonight. At any rate, he will be here next week.'

How Nashua's 'claim' was disposed of does not appear. The Democratic 'Nashua Gazette' of March 8 remarked:

> 'Abe' Lincoln, of Ills., has been trotted round this state by the republicans during the past week. It is rumored, that he would have made a speech here, but he asked $100 for his services, and the Nashua Republicans considered him worth only half that sum. He is a dull, prosy speaker. A Republican who heard him at Providence, says, he would draw a big house, but two thirds of his audience would leave before he got through.

Just after Lincoln was nominated, 'The Gazette' joined in the universal Democratic story of Republican disappointment at his choice. As far as can now be ascertained, no Republican newspaper

in New Hampshire expressed anything but joy. Among other barbs shot by 'The Gazette' (May 24) was this:

> The only thing known of him is, that he was the defeated competitor of Douglas in the late contest in Illinois and has read a dull, heavy, sectional 'irrepressible conflict' speech in some parts of the country within the last year, for which he was paid fifty or a hundred dollars an evening for reading it. We understand an attempt was made to get him to read the same speech here last winter, but his terms were considered too exorbitant for the equivalent he proposed to render.

For reasons to be stated in a later chapter, this story must be considered as a partisan lie. Manchester did not outbid Nashua. Lincoln got no fee for his speech that night. Presumably the State Committee decided between the two cities in favor of the larger.

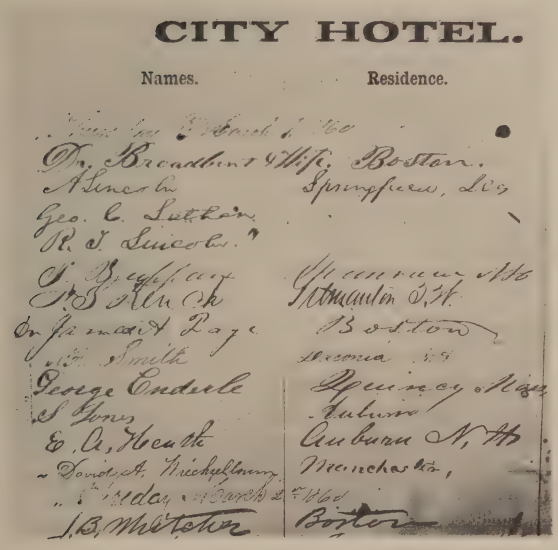
On the day of the Manchester speech 'The American' ran an announcement at the head of its editorial page, with a cut of a sailor nailing the national colors to the masthead. In large type Abraham Lincoln was named as the speaker at the Grand Republican Rally at Smyth's Hall that night. There is discoverable in the announcement a bit of concern lest the meeting be not well attended. 'Hear him! . . . There will be great curiosity to see and hear him and a rousing turn-out is inveterable [*sic*]. The enthusiasm of the people is irrepressible, and the great trouble is to find a hall

large enough to contain half of those who want to hear him.' Then came a tabular statement laboriously showing that Lincoln had more votes than Douglas in 1858, and finally: 'All men of all shades of party creed will be interested to hear the man who floored the "Little Giant of the West" in debate. The Cornet Band will be present: Galleries reserved for the Ladies.'

So, when Lincoln stepped from the train at Manchester at quarter-past four, all had been done to get him an audience that a fluttered editor could hurriedly conceive. But the rain continued, and there was cause enough to fear that the hall would be too large, rather than not half large enough. The cold rain must have made welcome the enclosed hack which the City Hotel 'ran to connect with every train arriving at or leaving Manchester.' For to this hotel, located on the east side of Elm Street at the north corner of Lowell, Lincoln was taken. There he inscribed upon the register his own name, and those of George C. Latham and R. T. Lincoln.

The City Hotel was owned and conducted by Daniel T. Morris, who had refitted and improved it and who claimed that with its airy, pleasant, and handsomely furnished rooms, it afforded every comfort and attention to be found in the best house in New England. Judged by present-day standards the City Hotel was doubtless far from the 'first-class hotel' it aimed to be. Shorn of

CITY HOTEL, MANCHESTER


CITY HOTEL.

Names. Residence.

Dr. Broadhurst & Wife, Boston.
A Lincoln Springfield, Ills
Geo. C. Latham
R. T. Lincoln

Boston
Manchester
George Enderle Quincy, Mass
Auburn
E. A. Heath Auburn N. H.
Manchester,
Boston

LINCOLN'S REGISTRATION AT THE CITY HOTEL FOR HIMSELF, GEORGE C. LATHAM, AND ROBERT LINCOLN

its brave front and with roof altered, the building has now long served mercantile uses.

Diagonally across Elm Street was Smyth Block, which had been erected a little over five years and which extended then, as now, from Water Street to Spring Street, its plastered walls giving to minds of magnificent aspirations the similitude of marble. On the first floor were stores. The second and third floors front were given over to offices and to the quarters of the Merrimack River Bank, of which Frederick Smyth had become cashier after his successful career as merchant, city clerk, and mayor. In the rear, up one flight, was Smyth's Hall, now the Park Theater, where Lincoln was to face his Manchester audience. At the north and south ends of the hall, on the third-floor level, were the two galleries reserved for the ladies. The platform was on the west side of the hall, against the rear wall of the building.

Mr. Smyth, as chairman of the Republican City Club, presided at the meeting. Inevitably in his introductory speech, he dwelt upon Lincoln's single point of contact with the East — the debates with Douglas. Then Smyth, who at ten o'clock that morning had made up his mind that Seward was not to be the next President, but had kept secret who, if anybody, was his choice, did a startling thing — he presented Lincoln as the next President of the United States.

The fears that Lincoln would have a small audi-

ence upon short notice that stormy night were happily disappointed. Every seat and all standing room were occupied. When the final unexpected turn came to the introduction, probably nobody of all the throng was more surprised than Lincoln. Smyth thought afterwards that the speaker was somewhat embarrassed, but this may have been a combination of his usual initial awkwardness with his well-known skill in assuming outward impassivity. At any rate, Lincoln made no allusion to the presidency, but stuck to his real job, the proof that the Republican Party was right in its opposition to the extension of slavery.

'The Union Democrat' of the next day, in giving the fairest report of the meeting which any opposition paper gave Lincoln in New Hampshire, did not pass any remarks upon that portion of the introduction having to do with the presidency. Probably that seemed to the reporter too much like conventional clap-trap. He did take occasion, however, to allude to the 'most sarcastic irony' of the presiding officer in introducing the speaker as the man 'who had met and *vanquished* the Little Giant of Illinois.' 'Lincoln,' remarked the reporter, 'is a queer-looking specimen of humanity, and we can readily believe that the rustic simplicity of his oratory, and the plausible mode of his reasoning, would secure him a kind of popularity with that portion of the people of the West, who are capable of looking at one aspect only, of a

great question of national policy.' Then, for the benefit of that 'large portion of the audience which consisted of Democrats, who had some curiosity to see the man who had the temerity to meet the great Senator of the West, before the people at the hustings,' the writer attempted to set Manchester firm in the belief that, as Douglas was elected, Lincoln could not have vanquished him. 'The Union Democrat's' story carried this brief résumé of the speech:

He stated in his speech here, that there were two great classes of minds in this country who were arrayed against each other on the subject of slavery; those who believe it right, and those who believe it wrong. He said that no man could be consistent or sincere, who said that he thought slavery to be wrong who did not labor for its overthrow. He openly declared that it was 'the policy of the Republicans to place their party on such a basis as would tend to secure the gradual extinction of slavery in this country.' These were his very words. Slavery he compared to a snake in bed with the children; and as it might not be good policy to kill the snake for fear of killing the children, so it might not be wise and safe just now, to directly assail slavery in the states, for the reason that we might destroy ourselves in so doing. He declared that slave and free institutions could not both exist in our country. One or the other must go down. There could be no truce or concession, but in the very nature of things there must be an irrepressible conflict. He argued that the people of the South were determined to crush out the free institutions of the North, and in short would demand that slavery should be established all over the land. He ridiculed the idea that

there could be any such thing as a let alone policy in regard to slavery.

The rest of 'The Union Democrat' article was a half-column attempt, in better humor than the average, to answer Lincoln's arguments. In an editorial another allusion was made to the snake-in-bed-with-the-children idea. 'He thought such a case should be treated with some discretion, lest the child might be injured in the attempt to kill the snake. . . . Mr. Lincoln thought John Brown struck his snake injudiciously.' This particular application of the thought is not found recorded elsewhere.

'The Daily American' (Republican) said editorially that the speech was a rare treat, pronounced by many to be the ablest ever given in Smyth's Hall. From the fatigue of his afternoon speech at Concord, Lincoln exhibited less physical energy than was expected from advance heralding, but 'his speech had force of argument that must have had a marked effect on every candid listener.' Apparently the editor anticipated 'spread-eagle-ism,' rather than reasoning, from a raw Westerner.

The news reporter was more enthusiastic. He gave a half-column to an outline of two points which especially impressed him. Both are familiar to readers of the Cooper Union speech, but interesting as showing slight variations.

One of the best points of his speech (and this was

among the first), was the answer to the question — What will satisfy the demands of the South upon the subject of Slavery? — Simply this, said the speaker, we must not only let them alone, but we must convince them that we do let them alone. This is no easy task. In all our speeches, resolutions, and platforms, we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but it has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

These natural, and apparently adequate means, all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only; cease to call slavery *wrong*, and join with them in calling it *right*. And this must be done thoroughly — we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure; we must pull down our Free State Constitutions, inasmuch as they declare the wrong of slavery with more solemn emphasis than do all other sayings against it. If we throw open the Free Territories to them, they will not be satisfied; we know this from past experience, as well as from present controversy.

Another point considered was the charge that the Republican party is sectional. The democracy say we are sectional because our party has no existence in the South. The *fact* is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in that section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You will soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall have votes in the South in the glorious year of 1860. Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against

sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Yet, less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the North Western Territory, which act embodied the policy of the government upon that subject up to and at the very moment he penned that warning.

Again, the speaker showed that every one of the exciting questions upon slavery now before the country were thrown upon us by those very men who taunt the Republicans as being radical and sectional. *We* stick to, and contend for, the identical old policy which was adopted by the fathers of the Republic; *you* reject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new. Some of you are for reviewing the African slave trade; some for a congressional Slave Code for the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit slavery within their limits; some for maintaining slavery in the Territories through the Judiciary; and some for Popular Sovereignty principle, which means, if one man would enslave another, no third man should object. Not one of these various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our government originated. Consider, then, who is conservative, your party, or ours. The speaker said, let us not be slandered from our duty by the false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves.

Two contemporary impressions of the meeting other than that of 'The Union Democrat' must be given. 'The American' said in its news columns:

The demonstration last evening was worthy of the man and the occasion. Notwithstanding the storm and the short notice, Smyth's Hall was filled in every part, and numbers were obliged to stand during the meeting. The meeting was characterized by the most earnest attention to the remarks of the eloquent speaker, interrupted occasionally by 'irresistible' applause. The speech was one of the best and most convincing political arguments to which we ever listened. Mr. Lincoln's oratory is natural and unstudied, which makes it the more effective, and he possesses rare powers to elucidate and convince. Such a man must be heard to know his power. We should fail if we attempted to give an accurate report of his speech. We must leave for the future to tell how much impression it produced; but we are greatly mistaken if nine tenths of the audience did not go to their homes with a firmer resolution to stand by the Right, and to resist the aggressions of the Slave Power to the last, than they had when they entered the Hall. The influence of such an effort, from such a man, at such a time, is not to be reckoned in a night, but like the key-notes to a song, it shall be heard through the whole campaign, and its power be largely felt in the verdict of the people on the second Tuesday of this month.

If the news-writer of 'The American' saw no further than the State election, John B. Clarke, editor of 'The Daily Mirror' (Independent), avowed after the Chicago Convention that he had for some time been a Lincoln man, and impliedly related his feeling to the Manchester speech. The day after the address he recorded an impression of such quality that it should be quoted in full, without the elisions made by Lamon:

Abraham Lincoln, the distinguished politician and stump speaker, of Illinois, well known for his many contests with the 'Little Giant,' spoke at Smyth's Hall, last evening, to an immense crowd of ladies and gentlemen. He was introduced by the President of the Republican Club, Hon. Frederick Smyth. The platform was covered with notables and Baldwin's Band.[1] The audience was a flattering one to the reputation of the speaker. It was composed of persons of all sorts of political notions, earnest to hear one whose fame was so great, and we think most of them went away thinking better of him than they anticipated they should. He spoke an hour and a half with great fairness, great apparent candor, and with wonderful interest. Some were not so much amused and gratified with personalities as they hoped to be, but after all, if they look closely at their thoughts, they like the man better for that. He did not abuse the South, the Administration, or the Democrats, or indulge in any personalities, with the solitary exceptions of a few hits at Douglas's notions. He seemed to have certain ideas in mind, that our New Hampshire speakers could be benefitted by following, that you can 'catch more flies with molasses than vinegar,' or, as he expressed it, it is hard to make a girl love you by slandering her, or to compel a man to vote for one who keeps slandering him. He is far from prepossessing in personal appearance, and his voice is disagreeable, and yet he wins your attention and good will from the start. He indulges in no flowers of rhetoric, no eloquent passages; he is not a wit, a humorist, or a clown; yet, so great a vein of pleasantry and good nature pervades what he says, gliding over a deep current of practical argument,

[1] A little more than a year later this band, then attached to the First New Hampshire Regiment, played for Lincoln, as the President reviewed the regiment from the porch of the White House.

WHERE LINCOLN SPOKE IN MANCHESTER

he keeps his hearers in a smiling mood with their mouths open ready to swallow all he says. . . . His sense of the ludicrous is very keen, and an exhibition of that is the clincher of all his arguments; not the ludicrous acts of persons, but ludicrous ideas. Hence he is never offensive, and steals away willingly into his train of belief persons who were opposed to him. He seems to forget all about himself while talking, and to be entirely engrossed in the welfare of his hearers, trying to convince them that they have only one political course to pursue. He does not try to show off, to amuse those of his own party, but addresses all his arguments in a way to make new converts. For the first half hour his opponents would agree with every word he uttered, and from that point he began to lead them off, little by little, cunningly, till it seemed as if he had got them all into his fold. He displays more shrewdness, more knowledge of the masses of mankind than any public speaker we have heard since long Jim Wilson left for California.[1]

At the close of his speech, the Band played, and then three times three cheers were given for Lincoln, and three for the Republicans of New Hampshire, and the meeting dissolved.

After Lincoln's nomination the 'New Hampshire Telegraph' of Nashua took as an editorial text Lincoln's Manchester remark about molasses and vinegar. 'The speech itself,' said the editor, 'was a model of fairness and candor, and produced an effect for good on the minds of the community which perhaps never was surpassed by any other.' Hope was expressed that this would be the keynote of the Republican presidential campaign,

[1] For a note on Long Jim Wilson, see the Appendix.

and that all the vinegar would be left to the Democrats who had been trained in its use by Isaac Hill.

Many years later, Judge David Cross gave to Percy Coe Eggleston certain recollections of the Manchester meeting which Mr. Eggleston put into his valuable little book, 'Lincoln in New England,' and which are quoted here by permission. Judge Cross recalled that after a few minutes Lincoln won the favorable attention of the audience by his clearness, tact, and fairness; that he talked for about an hour and a half, yet no one left the hall; that though many were standing, no one was restless, and all watched the speaker closely and continuously. At first only a small part of the audience was in full sympathy with him, but gradually he won the interest and the admiration and the enthusiasm of all, even though half of the audience were Democrats and there was a sprinkling of rabid abolitionists. After the meeting a leading Democrat told the judge that it was the best speech he had ever heard and that he believed no other man could equal Lincoln. Judge Cross's own impression was that Lincoln 'seemed quaint and almost strange in manner and expression, but he seemed a man of intense earnestness and sincerity, gifted with all the arts of the best stump speaker, but also, like some old prophet, solemnly delivering his message of warning and exhortation to the people.'

As had been the case in the afternoon at Con-

cord, Lincoln found a welcome heckler at Manchester. In the evening it was Elder Foss, described as a sturdy old abolitionist. To radicals of his type, Lincoln seemed to have come no farther than the halfway house. The elder, according to Smyth's memory of a quarter of a century later, interrupted the speaker so frequently that the audience was angered. Some cried, 'Put him out!' 'No!' said Lincoln, 'I *want* you to jaw back. This is the man I wanted to meet here.' Then to Foss: 'What did you say, sir?' Foss stated why he opposed the Republican Party, and Lincoln replied so well that Foss joined in the cheering. At the close of the meeting, he was the first to hasten to the platform to congratulate Lincoln.

A variant of this story was told in 1928 by one of the few survivors of the audience, William G. Garmon, at ninety years of age still vigorously giving full time to his business in Manchester. He had never heard the story told by others nor seen it in print. The Reverend A. T. Foss, he said, had been a Baptist preacher of most persuasive eloquence. He resigned his church and salary to join the abolitionists — 'to work for the slaves,' as he himself expressed it. He died poor in property but rich in satisfaction. According to the recollection of another, he spoke for abolition wherever he could find an audience and did not scorn the open-air forum of Merrimack Common. In this second version, the story is that Foss asked Lincoln some

questions. Shouts went up from all parts of the hall. Half of the three thousand in the audience rose to their feet demanding that the questioner be put out, some even yelling, 'He's crazy!' Lincoln stretched out his long arm, 'about six inches longer than anybody else's,' till he seemed to reach the whole audience, and said, 'Hear the man!' This he repeated again and again until the audience resumed their seats in silence. Foss was then allowed to restate his questions, and Lincoln answered them. That Lincoln used the phrase 'jaw back' is not recalled in this version, though it is in a third presently to be mentioned. After the speech, the press to shake Lincoln's hand lasted for three quarters of an hour. Mr. Garmon stood by Elder Foss when he greeted Lincoln, and recalls thus the words of the abolitionist: 'Mr. Lincoln, I've asked those questions several times in my life, and you're the first man of all my acquaintance that ever answered me civilly. I thank you.' From that hour Foss was a firm friend of Lincoln. During the campaign of 1860 he spoke for him in every New England State, and in 1864 stumped fourteen States.

Late in life, Judge David Cross, one of the keenest men who heard the Manchester speech, wrote to Mr. Eggleston a version of the Foss story which follows the main outlines of the two already told. He remembered Lincoln's reply to Foss's heckling: 'Now, my friend, you are in favor of disunion.

You think the only way is for the North and South to separate, but I tell you to stay with us and in the end the whole country will be free.' True prophet though he was, Lincoln had yet in sorrow to count the cost of that freedom whose dawning light brightened the bitterness of his last days.

The introduction of Lincoln as the next President is clearly and independently recalled by two survivors of the Manchester audience. Both agree that it was some minutes before Lincoln's odd appearance was forgotten and he caught the interest and attention of the audience. To one of them it seemed as though he were stage-struck, or possibly embarrassed by his introduction. But when his initial awkwardness passed, 'he began to speak.' He was an easy speaker ('not a hard speaker, like Roosevelt'), but not an orator of the parts of Governor Walter Harriman, and even Governor Harriman this observer would not rate as great an orator as Elder Foss. That these eye-witnesses estimate correctly the slowness of Lincoln to get his audience in hand is amply proved by the great weight of contemporary accounts. That one of them is able to compare the speaking styles of four men who impressed New Hampshire in the last seventy years is worth passing mention.

It must have been a tired Lincoln who, after his second long speech of the day and his fatiguing, if pleasant, handshaking on the platform of Smyth's Hall, recrossed Elm Street to the City Hotel. But

his day was not yet done. Smyth went with him.[1] Robert was drowsy, and he and George Latham went to bed, but Lincoln and Smyth sat in the former's room and talked for an hour. The conversation, as recalled by Smyth years later, has certain elements of credibility not lightly to be passed by. Lincoln talked about the Douglas debates. Then the political situation in the Nation was discussed. Through it all, there seems to have been a bit of ferment in Lincoln's mind.

The day had been one of novel sensations. No longer ago than Monday, Lincoln had spoken of himself as a vice-presidential possibility. That very morning he had told Smyth that Seward would be President. But these prepossessions, sensible as they were, had been somewhat shadowed during the last few hours. Lincoln could lightly brush aside the enthusiasm of the obscure Concord grocer who had told him that afternoon that he was to be President. But how about the unprecedented introduction that night by the ex-mayor of a bustling textile city, the responsible leader of his party in a place of more than twenty thousand, several times the size of

[1] George B. N. Dow is sure that, as he and his father walked home after the meeting, Lincoln and Smyth preceded them up Bridge Street and turned in at the Smyth house on the corner of Chestnut. He has in his mind a picture of Lincoln's tall hat — not flaring, but tapering. Smyth's biography does not mention his taking Lincoln to his home, but leaves one to infer that they went at once to the hotel.

Springfield, Illinois? The fond friends at home were understandable. How about these new acquaintances in New Hampshire, the farthest he had ever, as politician, been from home? Did they mean it? No man in the situation could resist asking.

The introduction that night, said Lincoln to Smyth, had taken him by surprise. 'But, of course, you didn't mean anything?' Smyth replied that he believed what he said, and that if Lincoln made the same impression in other States that he had made that day in New Hampshire, he would surely be nominated. Lincoln demurred. Seward, he said, would get the nomination. He doubted that three States would vote for Lincoln in the convention. And so declaring, he said good-night and went to bed. But the ferment was working.

Lest it be said that it is unsafe to adopt Smyth's story of the morning conversation on the train and the midnight conference in the City Hotel, it may as well be admitted that there is some degree of unsafety in accepting unreservedly a memory related twenty-five years later by Smyth to his biographers and by them given the literary form in which it has come down to us. As to particular and minute details, it is surely so. For example, the biography of Smyth represents Lincoln as reading Seward's speech at Auburn in the 'Boston Journal' of March 1. There was no speech at Auburn to be reported. But the morning 'Journal'

of that day published in full Seward's speech of February 29 in the Senate of the United States. That speech, upon the admission of Kansas, attracted widespread applause and justified Lincoln's admiration for its author. It is not fatal that Smyth's memory failed in the detail of the place of its delivery. If he had manufactured his story with forethought, he would have assigned the speech to the correct place. It is significant of lack of fabrication that the story agrees substantially, and not particularly, with the facts.

If we seek for substance, rather than form, Smyth's memory of the state of Lincoln's mind, as revealed in the train and in the hotel, must be checked with what is otherwise known of Lincoln's mental attitude at the time. What little is known supports, rather than contradicts, the essential accuracy of Smyth's account. The story is also consistent with Lincoln's characteristic slowness in reaching a decision. In spite of his undoubted knack of getting upon the right side of a question, Lincoln arrived there only after travail of soul. In spite of his admitted personal ambition, he was equally slow in deciding that he was the man of the hour. When he came to the conclusion, he was equally certain, whether as to the rightness of his view of principle or his conviction of his mission. Upon the question of his belief regarding the extension of slavery, Lincoln was already firmly fixed. On March 1, 1860, his idea as to his

calling was still misty. The winds of circumstance were but beginning to make rifts in the fog. And, whatever else we do, we may with some satisfaction test the truth of Smyth's story by its human characteristics.

Smyth did not fall into the natural error of confusing hindsight with foresight. George B. N. Dow, of Manchester, was a boy of ten when Lincoln made his speech there. His story of such things as a small boy would be likely to remember gives a clue of some value. 'One night,' he says, 'father came home and said he wanted me to put on a clean collar and go and see the tallest man I ever see. He's going to be President some day.' They went to Smyth's Hall. In the anteroom sat Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Smyth. 'Lincoln, you know, didn't sit like you and I do. His body was not long; his legs were. He was slouched down in his chair. Smyth, who was five feet ten, was head and shoulders above him as they sat. When Lincoln got up, it was like opening a two-foot rule.' This is truthful, if exaggerated. The boy was introduced to the great man. He cast his eyes shyly to the floor. 'Then,' he says, 'Abraham Lincoln grabbed my hand and gave it such a grip that I lifted my eyes. He reminded me so much of my uncle that I got up my courage. "Where did you get them black eyes?" Mr. Lincoln said.' That charming story suggested a question. 'Where, Mr. Dow, did your father get the idea that Abraham

Lincoln was to be President?' 'Well,' was the reply, 'my father was in the bank to see Fred Smyth nearly every day, and Smyth told him that Lincoln was one of the most capable men in the country and was going to be President.' Frederick Smyth must be rated as almost the original Lincoln man in New Hampshire.

There are two stories as to Lincoln's movements on the morning of Friday, March 2. One is from Smyth, who told of calling at the hotel shortly after breakfast and taking Lincoln to visit the Manchester Print Works, where he satisfied in part a natural desire to learn something about the New England textile industry. Smyth was with Lincoln when he took his train to leave Manchester late in the forenoon, but says nothing about a visit to another of Manchester's mills.

That story is told in 'The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company: A History.' According to this, Lincoln the same morning went to the plant of that corporation at the invitation of its agent, Ezekiel A. Straw. That was a larger concern than the Print Works. While the latter employed seven hundred males and over a thousand females, the Amoskeag gave work to four hundred and seventy-five males and twenty-one hundred females. Agent Straw sent for Edwin P. Richardson, a young machinist, and introduced him, grease, overalls, and all. Richardson was abashed at

meeting thus the man whose speech he had heard the night before. Lincoln reached out his hand. Richardson shrank back, murmuring an apology for his dirtiness. Lincoln insisted, and had his way, that no hand of honest toil was too grimy for him to clasp. Nor, when Agent Straw asked Richardson to show the guest about the plant, was any delay to be allowed for a wash-up and a change of clothing. 'Young man,' commanded Lincoln, 'go just as you are.' And so he conducted Lincoln about. Afterwards he judged that the tour of the mill took two hours. That is the outline of the story, though Richardson put it later into more full-sounding English for the history. But it is also the essential outline as he gave it when he broke into his house after work that day, excitedly telling the story in the presence of his niece, who, as Mrs. Lyman Colby, recounted it to the writer of this study.[1]

Breakfast was taken without undue delay in those days, and Lincoln had time to visit the Print Works and spend an hour or two at the Amoskeag Mills before he took the train at eleven o'clock. The clattering of Manchester's spindles and looms fabricated an argument in Lincoln's mind. Three days later at Hartford, he answered the charge

[1] Many years later, Richardson was the moving spirit who secured for the Manchester High School grounds the statue of Lincoln seated. The sculptor, John Rogers, maker of the 'groups,' had, while working as a machinist and experimenting in clay, boarded with Richardson's mother.

of Douglas that the Massachusetts shoemakers' strike arose from 'this unfortunate sectional warfare.' Lincoln thanked God for a system of labor where there could be a strike, and said:

> I have heard that in consequence of this 'sectional warfare,' as Douglas calls it, Senator Mason, of Virginia, had appeared in a suit of homespun. Now, up in New Hampshire, the woolen and cotton mills are all busy, and there is no strike — they are busy making the very goods Senator Mason has quit buying! To carry out the idea, he ought to go barefoot! If that's the plan, they should begin at the foundation and adopt the well-known 'Georgia costume,' of a shirt-collar and a pair of spurs.

They were contrasting groups that Abraham Lincoln met in the two cities where he spoke on March 1. In Concord he saw and permanently impressed the State leader of the Republican Party and a small and influential group of his staff. He was there heard by tradesmen, clerks, lawyers, judges, and by a representative group of the farmers of Merrimack County who reckoned miles of deep mud and hogsheads of rain as small ills to suffer for the reward that was theirs. At Manchester the contact was with Smyth and Straw, the former the local party leader, both soon to be high in the councils of State and to fill the Governor's chair. But not less important was his influence upon the working class who tended spindle and loom and lathe, a class typified by Edwin P.

Richardson. The hold Lincoln obtained upon the Manchester rank and file was shown a few weeks later when the news of his nomination came from Chicago. In picturesqueness and impressiveness the demonstrations of joy made by the working-men of Manchester were striking. The feeling thus shown could hardly have originated in May. It doubtless set its roots early in March, and its germination and growth must have entered into the calculations of those who watched for straws bending in the wind as signs indicating whose nomination would give strength to the Republicans in New Hampshire.

It may have been one of those laboring-men, an Irishman, who called out in the midst of a speech by Stephen A. Douglas on Merrimack Common a few months later: 'A-abe Lincoln, the r-rail-splitter!' Douglas hesitated; then in his generous way said: 'Yes, they call my friend Lincoln the rail-splitter. He has probably split as many rails as I have made secretary and bureau cases. I've met him at the bar, I've met him on the stump, and I want to say to you, my friend, that he's a hard man to get up against.'

IV

DOVER

From Manchester to Dover it is certain that Lincoln traveled by way of Lawrence, Massachusetts. The Smyth biography mentions ten o'clock as the time when his train left Manchester. The north-bound train to Concord left at ten minutes before ten. Had Lincoln taken this — the same train he took the day before — he would have arrived at half-past ten in Concord. Thence he could not have reached Dover by the Concord and Portsmouth Railroad until the next day. The train south left at eleven, and took Lincoln the twenty-six miles to Lawrence in three quarters of an hour. From Lawrence to Dover there was no train until half-past three. Where Lincoln and the boys had their dinner has not been ascertained. What did the three do with the two hours after eating? They may have strolled about to see the mills. Lincoln may have devoted some time to the newspapers. Possibly he reviewed his speech. Did he think of the presidency in terms of the acclaim the newspapers gave Seward's speech? Did he ponder the prophecies of Calvin C. Webster and Frederick Smyth? Nobody knows.

The north-bound train took Lincoln again into New Hampshire, reaching Exeter, twenty-four miles from Lawrence, at a little before half-past

four. He might have stopped there if he chose, and reached Dover by a later train at eighteen minutes before seven, but it seems more likely that, without leaving the train, he continued on the remaining eighteen miles and arrived in Dover at thirteen minutes after five. Either train would have brought him to Dover approximately three quarters of an hour, one way or another, from six o'clock, which in a reminiscence of nearly a half-century later was assigned as the time of his arrival. The earlier hour, before dark, seems more probable if equally remote memories are reliable as to things seen soon after his reaching town. There is no indication that Robert and young Latham went to Dover. Though it is possible they did, it is more likely that they left the train at Exeter and returned to their studies after an interruption of two days.

The movements of Lincoln in Concord, Manchester, and Exeter were traced only by wide research in unrelated quarters. His time in Dover presents other difficulties; the material is largely ready at hand in contemporary newspapers, in the Lincoln centenary issue of 'Foster's Daily Democrat' and in an article by Mrs. Annie Wentworth Baer in 'The Granite Monthly' of July, 1915. The problem in Dover, therefore, is one of choice and arrangement of material, rather than of seeking it out. When, in what follows, recollections or reminiscences are mentioned as source material, they

will usually be found in 'The Democrat' of February 11, 1909, or the article by Mrs. Baer. Some caution must be felt about believing all of them, but most of those chosen for this work have been tested by contemporary allusion, by what is known to have been Lincoln's method elsewhere, or at least by inherent probability.

One of the most entertaining of the Dover traditions is that related in the centenary edition of 'The Democrat' and since printed elsewhere. When the committee met Lincoln at Exeter and extended the invitation to speak in Dover, the story runs, Lincoln said he was a poor man and ought to be attending court in Illinois, therefore he could not afford to go to Dover for nothing, since his only means of supporting his family came from practice. Assurance was given that Lincoln should suffer no loss, and a promise received that the speech should be made.

A subscription paper was started in Dover and one hundred and fifty dollars were collected. As a result, although Lincoln had suggested twenty-five dollars and expenses, he received one hundred dollars and expenses, and the committee 'felt well satisfied at that.'

Those who have spread this story did an unwitting disservice to Lincoln's memory. The repetition here is for the sole purpose of bringing the yarn into the open, in the hope of disposing of it for good. It is the only information upon which it

would be possible to base the thought that Lincoln was paid for his speaking services at any place in New Hampshire. To be sure, there is the charge of the 'Nashua Gazette,' earlier quoted, but that is merely a partisan canard. Here is the only such suggestion made by or upon the authority of those who had a part in arranging the meetings in New Hampshire. And it is weakened at the outset by the fact that it never saw the light of day until forty-nine years after Lincoln's visit.

It is of small moment that Lincoln was poor and that, if his family were provided for, he must work at his profession. That fact everybody knows, and Lincoln properly could feel no particular shame about it. But if Lincoln led the Dover committee to infer, as the story suggests, that a speech in Dover on March 2 would delay his return to business, he stands charged with deceiving them, for he already had engagements which would keep him from returning home at least sooner than the following week. And a deception in order to get the paltry sum of twenty-five dollars!

Abraham Lincoln has never been caught, after more than sixty years of the most unrelenting search of his career, in a deliberate lie. We have his own word for it, written just five weeks after he spoke in Dover, that he never charged anything for a political speech in his life. True, he received two hundred dollars for the Cooper Institute speech, but the contract for that was made

with the understanding that it was to be delivered, not at a political rally, but in connection with a lecture course at Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. The shift to the Cooper Institute was made without consulting him, and he knew nothing of it until he reached New York. Those responsible for his New York appearance were four men who promoted the affair on a speculation for their own account. The meeting was not arranged, as has sometimes been stated, by any Republican organization. In fact, two Republican clubs were asked by the promoters to become sponsors, and both declined. The curious should read the statement written for the 'New York Evening Post' of August 16, 1867, by the chief promoter, James A. Briggs, and included in an appendix to the second edition of Charles Godfrey Leland's 'Abraham Lincoln.' They will find it sustains what has just been said and supports, if support were needed, what Lincoln stated in the letter soon to be quoted.

The canard set current by such papers as the 'Nashua Gazette' followed Lincoln back to Illinois, and current rumor had it that he had sold a political speech and had been 'generally governed by mercenary motives in his Eastern trip.' Lincoln was asked by a friend to explain and replied thus:

SPRINGFIELD, *April* 6, 1860

C. F. McNeill, Esq.

DEAR SIR — Reaching home yesterday, I found yours of the 23d March, enclosing a slip from 'The Middleport

Press.' It is not true that I ever charged any thing for a political speech in my life; but this much is true. Last October I was requested by letter to deliver some sort of speech in Mr. Beecher's church in Brooklyn — $200 being offered in the first letter. I wrote that I could do it in February, provided they would take a political speech if I could find time to get up no other. They agreed; and subsequently I informed them the speech would have to be a political one. When I reached New York, I, for the first [time], learned that the place was changed to 'Cooper Institute.' I made the speech, and left for New Hampshire, where I have a son at school, neither asking for pay nor having any offered me. Three days after, a check for $200 was sent to me at N.H.; and I took it, *and did not know it was wrong*. My understanding now is, though I knew nothing of it at the time, that they did charge for admittance at the Cooper Institute, and that they took in more than twice $200.

I have made this explanation to you as a friend; but I wish no explanation made to our enemies. What they want is a squabble and a fuss: and that they can have if we explain; and they cannot have it if we don't.

When I returned through New York from New England, I was told by the gentlemen who sent me the check, that a drunken vagabond in the club, having learned something about the $200, made the exhibition out of which 'The Herald' manufactured the article quoted by the 'Press' of your town.

My judgment is, and therefore my request is, that you give no denial, and no explanations.

Thanking you for your kind interest in the matter, I remain

Yours truly

A. Lincoln

This letter, which is found on page 441 of Lamon's 'Life,' is the truth.

Nevertheless some doubter, on the theory of 'no great smoke without some small fire,' may sniff with sensitive nose. How came the story to be told if it had no basis? So let us trace the story as near to its beginning as we may do at this date, and call upon the daughter of one of the committee of three who visited Lincoln at Exeter and invited him to Dover. As Miss Mary Stevens remembers it, her father said that Lincoln was reluctant to make another speaking engagement; he had come to New Hampshire to see his son, and his time was all too short, but upon their pressing him further he graciously consented. Something he did say about his being a poor man and his needing to get back to practice. The Dover Committee did try to do the handsome thing and took up a collection with the idea of remunerating him, but Lincoln declined to take anything at all.

This is as near to the truth as we shall ever get by way of detail. It is the essential truth as told by Lincoln to his friend. But the details, in the telling and retelling of a half-century, became so embroidered as to result in an essential untruth. Let no one again say that Abraham Lincoln peddled a political speech in New Hampshire, or that he asked or received any fee, be it twenty-five, fifty, or a hundred dollars, for speaking at any campaign meeting, in Dover or elsewhere. No contemporary

canard, no memory embellished by a half-century of passing from mouth to mouth, can avail against the word of Abraham Lincoln.

When Lincoln came to Dover, he had two days' notice, instead of the single day's advertising given in Concord and Manchester. As a consequence, Dover was stirred with anticipation. Even in 1928, John W. Abbott, nearing the century mark, remembers clearly going to the post-office one evening and hearing Richard N. Ross announce that Abraham Lincoln was to visit Exeter, adding, 'and we are going down to see if we can get him up here.' So great was the anticipation that a special train was chartered to bring people down from Farmington and vicinity.

When Lincoln climbed down from his train at Dover, he was greeted by a crowd of curious and good-natured people. As some of them recalled it later, possibly with a bit of adornment, the reception on the station platform was principally noteworthy for interest in Lincoln's stature. Most of the crowd gathered midway of the train. A few went to the rear and surrounded Lincoln as he stepped from the last car. The Westerner towered six inches above the group about him, and one of the town wags cried, 'Didn't they want you any longer where you came from?'

Lincoln regarded the crowd with a twinkle in his eye and remarked that Dover did not seem to have any tall men. Richard N. Ross, who was

master mechanic in the Printery, also alderman and chief of the fire department, stepped up to challenge the statement. He did not cut much of a figure as he and Lincoln backed up to each other, for he lacked two inches of making a match. Lincoln reckoned Dover had nobody as tall as he, but the day was saved when George Mathewson said, 'Wait a bit,' and fetched from another part of the depot Deputy Sheriff Edward Barnard, who had come down from Farmington to hear Lincoln. Barnard was six feet and seven inches tall. When the usual ceremony was over, Lincoln turned and made a low and grotesque bow to Barnard. Never while he lived did the sheriff fail to brag that he was 'a bigger man than Abe Lincoln.'

George Mathewson, who was superintendent of the Print Works of the Cochecho Manufacturing Company, claimed Lincoln as his guest, and the two climbed into an open buggy and drove to Mathewson's house at the northwest corner of Locust and Nelson Streets. Claribel Gerrish years later recalled that as she was walking along Central Street her brother Benjamin, at whose suggestion Lincoln had been invited to Dover, overtook her and eagerly said, 'Look at the man riding with Mr. Mathewson. He is going to be the next President.' She looked, and as later memory served her, 'saw a man with stooping shoulders, alert ears, square cut hair, tall silk hat, and a unique collar. He made Mr. Mathewson look small in the open buggy, as they rode by.'

THE HOUSE WHERE GEORGE MATHEWSON ENTERTAINED LINCOLN IN DOVER

Lincoln slept in the right-hand front room on the second floor

After a brief time for supper, Lincoln went to the City Hall, which occupied the present site of the Masonic Hall on Central Avenue, at the corner of Washington Street. He was taken first to an anteroom of the assembly hall and then, while the audience was gathering, to the city clerk's office, whither a number of the Republican leaders were brought to meet him. After shaking hands all around, Lincoln sat down at the city clerk's desk. There was some talk, mostly by Lincoln, which was later remembered as mainly light and facetious. As he talked, Lincoln absent-mindedly pushed a paper knife beneath the cloth cover of the desk, running it left and right, right and left, and freeing the cover from the wood. He expressed pleasure at what Exeter was doing for Robert, and one man who heard him was so impressed that he sent his own boys to the Academy.

In preparation for the meeting, Chairman Benn had ordered all of the settees removed from the floor of the hall. The hall was a large one on the second floor of the building and covered practically all of the area from Central Avenue to Locust Street. The platform was on the westerly or Locust Street side. The rear and sides of the floor, to a width of some feet, were raised somewhat above the general level. The gallery, opposite the platform, seated about two hundred. Whether the seating capacity was fifteen hundred, or that was the number which could crowd in with the settees

removed, is doubtful. One estimate places two thousand people in the hall that night, and none less than fifteen hundred. Only voters were admitted to the lower level, and, except for one lone reporter, only women were allowed the privileges of the settees in the small gallery. The 'Dover Gazette' (Democratic) of March 10 alleged that 'by most extreme exertion of the Republican fuglers the hall was about two-thirds filled with people.' The 'Dover Enquirer' (Republican) of March 8 declared that the hall was crowded. Several men in later years recalled that they had to elbow and crowd their way into the hall for the pleasure of standing two hours to hear Lincoln. The audience included men of all ages, delegations from all of the surrounding towns and from all parts of Strafford County, regardless of party. One man who walked over from Salmon Falls and stood two hours, would, after a half-century of retrospect, have willingly stood two hours more. From end to end the hall was packed with men standing so close that they could scarcely sway back and forth. After Lincoln had spoken for an hour, he paused and looked with some compassion on the press of men standing below him. Then he remarked that he had spoken enough; the crowd must be weary of standing. But they called back to him, 'Go on!' And go on he did.

The Reverend James M. Buckley, later editor of the New York 'Christian Advocate,' was then

minister of the Methodist Church in Dover. It was the night of his prayer-meeting. His church officials advised that the service be omitted, but the clergyman was all for conscience. The prayer-meeting was held, with only thirteen in attendance, instead of the usual seventy-five. When the service was over, Mr. Buckley and his little flock hastened at five miles an hour to City Hall, arriving after Lincoln began to speak.

It was fortunate for them that Lincoln spent so much time shaking hands, telling stories, and damaging a desk, also that after John R. Varney, of the City Committee, called the meeting to order at an elastic half-past seven, a formal organization was effected. Thomas E. Sawyer was chosen president of the evening, and there were from two to twelve vice-presidents from each of the four wards, besides three secretaries. The organization was wholly representative — lawyers and judges, aldermen and councilmen, editors, manufacturers and merchants, bankers, butchers, bakers, blacksmiths. The esteemed first mayor of Dover, Andrew Peirce, sat on the platform with eight others who had been to Concord as members of the General Court.

Dignitaries in chairs on the platform, ladies on settees in the gallery, standing mob on the floor, all truly expected, as the ironical 'Gazette' remarked, 'the greatest political speech that ever escaped the lips of mortal man.' Many, many

of them forever after believed that they heard it. But probably most of them had at first the impression, voiced by 'The Gazette,' that 'Mr. Lincoln's appearance on the stand is not so agreeable as some other speakers whom we have seen and heard. . . . He is, strictly speaking, not an orator, albeit he is a tolerable declaimer, though he never knows where or how to place his hands or his feet. They are always in his way, and he has not learned how to reduce them to his service.'

Not so did the Republican 'Enquirer' record it, but in later years some of the friendliest in the audience retained a first impression of disfavor or at least disappointment. One man remarked to another in the audience that Lincoln did not look as though he could make much of a speech, but after a time he changed his mind and stood motionless for two hours. Another recalled, 'His general appearance to me was not very pleasing; he began to speak; I soon began to forget all about his appearance; I forgot that I was tired and [he sat for a time on the gallery stairs] was onto my feet again.' One young man, way down front, had to crick his neck to look up to the great height of the face of the speaker on the platform. He became so engrossed that he did not know until the speech was ended that his neck was aching. Even a lifelong Democrat declared a half-century later that it was the most interesting

speech he ever heard, with the audience so intent that 'you could hear a pin drop.'

It was confidently expected that the presiding officer would make a speech. Instead of doing this, or saying the obvious things, he simply remarked: 'Ladies and gentlemen, I have the pleasure of introducing the Honorable Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, who will now address you.'

Lincoln arose. The new frock coat of the Cooper Union address and the Brady photograph was probably not worn on Thursday or Friday, certainly not at Concord and Dover. He had reverted to the characteristic black swallow-tailed coat affected by Western lawyers, with satin waistcoat, wide expanse of white shirt, the 'unique collar' and black tie.

'Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,' said Lincoln; 'Whether you will or no, negro slavery is the great political question of the day.' Then he proceeded along the lines of his other speeches of the week. As he warmed up one man recalled that he walked back and forth from end to end of the platform.

Another auditor, John B. Stevens, carried a different impression, one of more quiet: 'He seemed so honest, so simple, touching and conclusive. I don't recall that he moved much on the stage, but distinctly I remember the long arms swinging, the mask-like face, the quick turn of the body to right and left as he drove home a red

hot rivet of appeal; the mobile change of his face from gravity to mirth, suggested rather than exhibited. At that time it never crossed my mind that he would be President. Afterwards I found that everybody else was sure of it. It is often thus, but I remember enough to know that the speech was full of freshness and originality, and in accordance with the growing spirit of the North, so there was a perfect understanding between the speaker and the mature part of his audience, and Dover was deeply moved.'

Colonel Daniel Hall, himself an orator, declared, 'It was the greatest speech I ever heard, so strong in its arguments, so clear, and of intense interest.' He recognized it as the Cooper Institute speech with a few changes and testified that it at once made an army of friends for Lincoln.

The hall was dimly lighted. After a few minutes Lincoln turned to the presiding officer, stretched out his long arms, and said: 'Give us more light! We want all the light we can get on this question.' Promptly the city messenger lighted all of the gas jets.

Lincoln held a scrap of paper in one hand when he began, but was not, as in New York, confined to his notes. Not once, in the two hours he spoke at Dover, did he refer to them. The speech had become second nature to him; he was in an atmosphere less constraining, he was himself.

Lincoln tried in vain to get up such an argu-

ment as he had in Concord and Manchester. He alluded to the Illinois custom of answering and questioning a speaker to an extent not customary in New England. Several times, after making a point against the Democrats, he said, 'Why don't you Democrats jaw back, as we say out West, if what I say is not true.' But no Democrat would jaw back. 'The Gazette' reporter held his peace that night, but took a mean revenge the next week by charging Lincoln with loose argument and misrepresentation — called him an unscrupulous demagogue, and ended, 'Ah! Mr. Lincoln, we have seldom seen your equal in adroitness at political jugglery.'

Of the substance of Lincoln's speech the unfriendly 'Gazette' gave but scraps. Slavery was declared a moral wrong, and 'The Gazette' impliedly criticized Lincoln for looking at the question solely from a moral point of view. Yet the Republicans did not propose to meddle with slavery where it now exists. 'He said that slavery was a snake in bed with Southern children, but he had to admit that those children are grown up men and women, amply able to take care of his snakeship in their own way.' Lincoln ridiculed popular sovereignty, which 'The Gazette' called 'this great fundamental principle which underlies our whole superstructure of government.'

As individuals remembered the speech long years afterwards, the principal arguments were

directed against the extension of slavery and the claim that the Republican Party was sectional. It is the best proof of Lincoln's powers that, in spite of all his oratorical defects, his main points were so well remembered forty-nine years later in terms that agree substantially with contemporary reports. Only an uncommon speaker with a vivid message can leave such indelible memories.

Two thirds of a century afterwards, John W. Abbott, who was nearly thirty when Lincoln spoke in Dover, recalled one point of the speech, a reference to the desire of Douglas to be President. If New England would wake up, Lincoln declared that not Douglas, but a man of Northern outlook, would be elected. The 'Little Giant' was 'no giant at all.' The point was emphasized by the speaker, with his 'long, longy arm,' striking his fist on the desk.

Lincoln used an illustration not much prettier than that of the snake, but equally apt to seize upon the memory and imagination of his hearers. A man had a tumor on the back of his neck. Friends advised him to have it cut out. The surgeons to whom he went found it so attached to the spinal cord that it could not be removed without killing the patient. They decided, therefore, to apply remedies to prevent the spread of the sore. Slavery, Lincoln thought, could not be cut out without destroying the Nation, but its spread could be avoided.

In Dover, as well as in Concord, Lincoln's unusual gestures have been handed down by tradition. He would sometimes lean forward and stretch out his long arms as though he would embrace the whole crowd. When telling a story to illustrate a point, his elbows were first drawn close to his sides, hands outstretched. Gradually, as he approached the climax, he leaned forward with arms at full length toward the audience.

Delia A. Varney, later Mrs. L. W. Howes, but then a high-school girl, was caught by the use of a word she had never before heard. 'The advocates of the extension of slavery into the new States,' said Lincoln, 'will soon find themselves completely [pause] squelched.' Miss Claribel Gerrish years later described the gesture which accompanied these words. Lincoln came to the extreme front of the platform, raised his right arm to its full length above his head, with the last word closed his hand as if to crush the objectionable thing, leaned forward and swung his arm to the right, bringing his hand down almost to his feet. The description of the right arm swing in arc to a point near the floor tallies precisely with the mimicry of a gesture which has been handed down by two of the Concord audience through two persons of the second generation who, without comparing notes with each other or the author, have separately illustrated it the year this study was written. In Concord the gesture

was used in connection with the snake in bed. But not all of Lincoln's gestures were so violent. A Concord woman now living recalls nothing especially awkward about Lincoln's appearance, and says that his most telling gesture was a shrugging of the shoulders.

The shoemakers' strike had extended from Massachusetts to Dover and the neighboring town of Farmington. In Dover several hundred operatives were out in protest of the reduction of their wages. The Democratic papers of New England, including the 'Dover Gazette,' were making political capital of the strike. The slump in the shoe business and nearly two hundred failures in the trade were assigned to withdrawal of Southern custom, angered by too much 'preaching nigger.' Every vote for the Democratic candidate for Governor was declared 'a vote for the mechanics and laborers.'

One looks in vain for evidence that Lincoln tackled this problem at Dover in the way that he did in Connecticut the following week. If he had, 'The Gazette' would probably have remarked upon it. The silence of the local Democratic paper on this point indicates that Lincoln said nothing about it there. But the Democratic attempt to play politics with the strike proved so futile that it was not worth while to answer it.

A brief account of the Dover meeting, written by the correspondent who had the freedom of the

ladies' gallery, appeared in the 'Boston Evening Traveller' of the next day. From it we learn only that the attendance was very large, that Thomas E. Sawyer presided, that Honorable Abram Lincoln spoke at considerable length upon national affairs, that the speech was able and was well received, that delegates were present from all the surrounding towns, that the Republicans of the region were wide awake.

On Monday the correspondent sent more, which appeared Wednesday evening.

> The great meeting on Friday evening of last week, with Hon. Abraham Lincoln as speaker, was a glorious ovation. Never in this State was there such a powerful, thorough and statesman-like exposition of political parties and such an able declaration of the nationality of Republican principles as on that evening by the Champion of the West. It was of immense service to the cause and Mr. Lincoln's trip to New England will result in great influence upon the contests now going on.

The 'Dover Enquirer' reported the speech very well. Although much of the speech will not be new to readers of this book, there are a few passages not elsewhere to be found, so the report follows substantially in full.

Lincoln 'gave a brief sketch of the course of democracy, in reference to the slavery question, showing how they had made it the prominent and almost the only question in National politics — how their leading statesmen had all been

compelled to bow to the slave power and become its obedient vassals.'

In reply to the charge of sectionalism, he said:

We deny it. That makes an issue, the burden of proof is upon you, the democracy. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that the republican party has no existence in the South. The fact is substantially true, but does it prove the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes there, we should thereby cease to be sectional. There was no escape from this conclusion, and if the democracy would abide by it, they would find that the republicans would get votes at the South this very year. Northern democrats were fond of saying to the opponents of slavery, why don't you go South and preach your doctrines where slavery exists, not oppose it here, where it does not exist? Frank Blair of Missouri, a democrat, did raise the standard of opposition in the very heart of slavery — and when he was defeated, did his brother democrats of the North sympathize with him? Not one of them. Their only greeting to him was 'H-u-r-r-a-h for the D-i-m-o-c-r-a-c-y!' The republicans were charged with being responsible for the John Brown raid, yet a Committee of Congress, with unlimited powers, had failed to implicate a single republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. [Then followed a challenge to the Democrats to prove their charge of complicity.]

The republicans who remained steadfast to the principles of the fathers on the subject of slavery, were the conservative party, while the democracy, who insisted upon substituting something new, were the destructives. But the South were threatening to destroy the Union in the event of the election of a republican

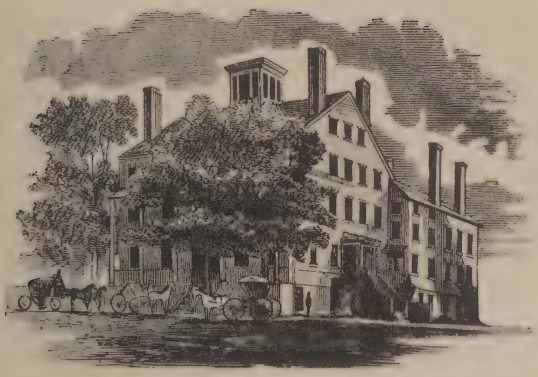
President, and were telling us that the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us. This is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, with 'stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer.' To be sure the money which he demands is my own, and I have a clear right to keep it, but it is no more so than my vote, and the threat of death to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union to extort my vote can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

To satisfy them is no easy task. We must not only cease to call slavery *wrong*, but we must join with them in calling it *right*. Silence will not be tolerated. Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our Free State Constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from the taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us. Wrong as we believe slavery to be, we should let it alone in the States where it exists, because its extirpation would occasion greater wrongs, but we should not, while our votes can prevent it, allow it to spread over the National Territories and overrun us in the Free States. Neither should we be diverted by trick or stratagem, by a senseless clamor about 'popular sovereignty,' by any contrivances for groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong — the 'don't care' policy of Douglas — or Union appeals to true Union men to yield to the threats of Disunionists, which was reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners but the righteous to repentance — none of these things should move or intimidate us; but having faith that right makes might, let us to the end, dare to do our duty.

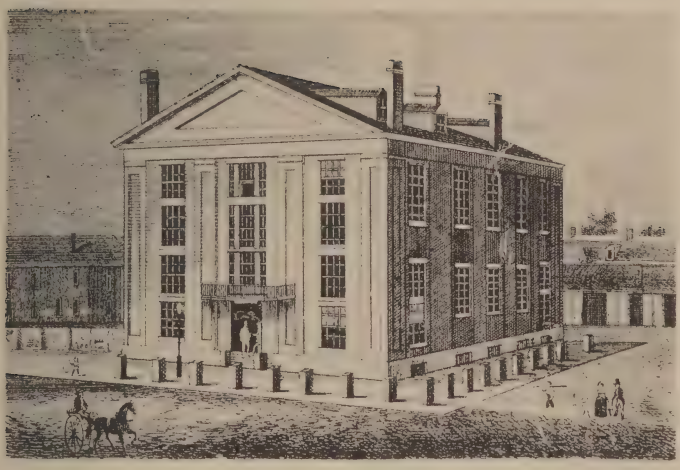
At the conclusion of the speech there was a hearty vote of thanks to Abraham Lincoln, three cheers for him, and three more for Illinois. Then followed the usual hand-shaking, treasured in memory by numberless Doverites who were fortunate enough to reach Lincoln in the press which deprived hundreds of the coveted privilege.

Even then the evening was not over. A considerable group escorted Lincoln to the New Hampshire House at the corner of Central and Church Streets, where Saint Mary's Academy now stands. This hotel, then kept by A. and D. E. Wiggin, had been the scene of many a Whig gathering. There Lincoln was engaged in conversation. He entranced his listeners with his stories until long after midnight, while anxious wives waited at home for husbands who were seldom out late.

At length Lincoln walked a block up Church Street, crossed Locust, and went to bed in the large northeast corner chamber of George Mathewson's beautiful home. He arose from his brief sleep at about five o'clock Saturday morning, made his own bed, and went for a walk before the household awoke. That 'redding up' of his room was not so odd in those days as it would be now, although it was remarked by the Mathewson housekeeper to the Woodman girl across the street who was the closest friend of one of Mathewson's daughters. To this day the gentlefolk of



NEW HAMPSHIRE HOUSE, DOVER



CITY HALL, DOVER

the neighborhood regard it, not as a mark of Western greenness, but as a token of Lincoln's thoughtfulness.

There persist two stories as to where Lincoln slept in Dover. Some people are certain that it was at the New Hampshire House. They doubtless base their opinion upon the story of the midnight conference at the hotel. The careful investigator who in 1909 interviewed nearly all of the threescore then surviving who heard the Dover speech, including several of those who were most prominent in the affair of 1860, adopted the view that the scant sleep of the night was snatched at the 'Agent's House' of the Cochecho Manufacturing Company. A reëxamination of the evidence now seems conclusively to support this opinion. A younger sister of the girl who had the bed-making story from the Mathewson housekeeper still lives in the house across the way and attests to its truth. She herself, then too young to have larger participation in the doings, looked out of her front window and saw the tall figure of Lincoln before the Mathewson house.

Lincoln had his morning shave at the hands of Thomas Law in the second-floor barber shop over what is now Hatch's store on the north corner of Central and Orchard Streets. Law often told about his critical job scraping over the mountains and valleys of the rugged face. A look at the Volk life-mask in the Maine Historical Society rooms

will readily convince one that the barber did not exaggerate his difficulties. Law was among the first Dover men who enlisted in 1861. The recruiting officer was George W. Colbath, one of the men with whom Lincoln chatted in the city clerk's office, also one of the secretaries at the meeting.

Dover added her little to Lincoln's information about the textile industry. Mathewson took him that Saturday morning through the Print Works. The process from white cloth to calico was explained. Lincoln was introduced by Mathewson to one and another of the operatives. When he had the story of a process from one of them, Lincoln put his hand upon the young man's head and said some complimentary words. The youth when old said: 'As he spoke he smiled, and the smile that he gave me has never yet appeared in any picture or etching. The artists have never yet portrayed the man. In every picture he looks grave and sad, very much like he looked when I saw him in his coffin.'

This generation can never see his face except in repose. Many of those he met in Dover, as elsewhere, carried the memory of an animated face, of a twinkling eye, and a radiant smile as the living look of Lincoln.

V

EXETER

It is not known whether Lincoln returned to Exeter from Dover on the morning or the afternoon of Saturday, March 2. If the former, as seems probable, he left shortly before eleven and arrived a little after half-past the hour.

His brief tour of the State had taken him through a region that must have suggested to him some contrasts and some likenesses with Illinois. His own State was growing fast, while New Hampshire was beginning to stand still in population. At home he was on the prairie. In New Hampshire he had seen, not the portion of high hills, but that of undulating aspect, with glimpses when the clouds lifted of secondary mountains. At home was the rich corn country. In New Hampshire, barring a few stretches of good intervale and some fertile slopes, the soil must have looked to him rocky and scrubby. He knew farmers in Illinois; he met others in New Hampshire, of the same stock as many he had associated with all his life, men of that Puritan lineage which was normally opposed to slavery. But while at home there were many farmers of Southern extraction, in New Hampshire he found no such admixture.

New Hampshire afforded Lincoln glimpses of rivers of unaccustomed purity, pouring over rugged falls and developing mighty power for textile industries such as the West did not know. These streams gave employment to thousands of workingmen and women, as yet largely of native stock. Like the farmers, they were disposed to free-soil views. Nor was the considerable sprinkling of Irish operatives which formed the bulk of New Hampshire's 'foreign population,' scarcely less likely than the farmers to lend receptive minds to Lincoln's message.

It is well to repeat that the State was still principally Puritan in ancestry and background. An examination of the contemporary directories of Concord, Manchester, and Dover gives to a modern citizen of New Hampshire startling proof that the population Lincoln found here was overwhelmingly of the stock which Theodore Clarke Smith, in 'The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest,' has shown formed with the Quakers the backbone of anti-slavery sentiment in Lincoln's part of the country. Consequently, whatever Lincoln found here of differences of scenery, soil, and industry, he found people sure to understand him.

Nevertheless there must have been a bit of strangeness in this corner of the world so far away from home. At Concord, it is true, Lincoln found a State capital, with such a group of office-

holders and lawyers and politicians as would remind him somewhat of Springfield. But Concord was a century older than his home town, with all that implied of a static condition, and in the New Hampshire capital the citizens were all of one type, instead of the mixture of Eastern-State people and Kentuckians which gave Springfield something more of color.

Manchester, in point of age, was more like Springfield, but in character of pursuits and population, though as booming as a Western town, totally different from anything he knew. Dover, the oldest settled place in New Hampshire, was a century older than Concord, two centuries older than Springfield. Civilization was a hundred years in traveling less than forty miles from Dover to Concord. In another hundred years it jumped a thousand miles to Illinois. It was a great thing to be living in 1860 rather than in 1760.

Dover, however, had lost much of the early New England savor. Gone were the Boston and New York packets, the schooners with molasses from the West Indies and cotton from Mobile, the trade with Europe. Instead had come the railroad. The people were still mainly Anglo-Saxon, but in spite of ancient houses and the lingering memory of early Indian fighters and Puritan priests, the colonial atmosphere had pretty much passed.

Exeter was almost as old as Dover, but retained much of its pristine flavor. Here was the typical New England village. Georgian houses held the descendants of first settlers. Conservative, but not sleepy, Exeter was steeped in tradition, a beautiful place to dream of the past and live richly in the present. Every corner reminded one of the Revolution and long years preceding. Exeter was a town of distinction, long past the raw. It had, too, that elusive quality known as academic atmosphere.

Lincoln's Exeter has much altered in outward aspect with the passing years. The buildings clustering about the center typify the changes — and the survivals. Flanking the northeasterly end of the square are two brick blocks built the very year of Lincoln's visit, but not existent when he was there. The opposite flank is occupied now, as it was then, by the Squamscott House, but upon the hotel's plain brick front of 1860 have grown two white wooden bays, and, in the course of recent rejuvenation, a lofty entrance porch. The wooden ell has been added or at least enlarged. Southeast of the square has risen the County Records building, but it is companioned by five of the great old houses dear to New-Englanders of the more spacious days. In one of them George Washington breakfasted, and thence he was drawn in a coach over the road that Lincoln walked. Northwest of the square the First Church lifts its

dignified bulk as it did in Lincoln's day. So too, in outward look, does the Town Hall. Its cupola is still surmounted by the white figure of Justice with the scales. But she is no longer emblematic of the court which in 1860 occupied the second floor of the building. The judges have gone the way of progress and sought larger, if less distinguished, quarters in a structure Lincoln never saw, between the Town Hall and the church.

When Lincoln walked from the square out Front Street to Amos Tuck's, he saw nothing of the present-day academy buildings except Abbot Hall and the germ of the principal's house. Some of the great old residences he would see if he visited Exeter to-day, including the Tuck home. Off in the other direction from the square he might still find the brick house then occupied by Mrs. S. B. Clarke, where Robert Lincoln and George Latham roomed in 1860. He would note again the queerly angled corners of the rooms, but he would hardly know how to account for the automobile now housed in the ground floor. Changes external have indeed been many in Exeter, but the old-time flavor lingers to a larger extent than in the other towns Lincoln visited in New Hampshire.

Lincoln spent three nights in Exeter — those of Wednesday, February 29, and Saturday and Sunday, March 3 and 4. There has long been doubt as to where he passed those three nights.

According to some accounts the Squamscott House was his headquarters, and it has been said that he occupied the southeasterly corner room on the second floor. For sentimental reasons one might wish he had, for it was in this hotel that Amos Tuck gathered a few choice spirits in 1853 and gave the Republican Party a name. The fact that Lincoln stopped there has, however, never been verified. Some years ago a fire damaged the hotel, presumably destroying the old registers, so no documentary proof of his staying there is to be found.

It is certain that Lincoln passed at least one night at the house of Amos Tuck at 89 Front Street. Nothing could be more natural than that his Congressional colleague should entertain him. The doors of the Tuck home had opened to Robert when he came to Exeter the previous fall, and there he stayed until his host's son, Edward Tuck, helped him to find permanent quarters across the river at Mrs. Clarke's house. Surely Amos Tuck would not be less hospitable to his old friend than he had been to the son. Edward Tuck was not in Exeter at the time of Abraham Lincoln's visit, but he recalls that his father often spoke later of 'Mr. Lincoln's having passed a night under our roof.' This statement does not exclude the possibility that one or more of his three nights in Exeter found him elsewhere lodged, but the probability is small that Lincoln was allowed to be a vagrant while there.

TOWN HALL, EXETER

HOUSE OF AMOS TUCK, EXETER, WHERE LINCOLN WAS ENTERTAINED

It is almost certain that Lincoln, when departing for Concord on Thursday morning, left behind his newest possession, the suit worn at the Cooper Institute, and that he donned it in honor of Exeter on Saturday evening. Assuming that he passed Wednesday night at the Tuck house, one can hardly imagine his tugging his new suit to the Squamscott House either before his departure for Concord or after his return from Dover. Not thus would he forsake the hospitality of an old friend for that of Landlord Blake.

There are rumors of two other houses that lodged Lincoln in Exeter, which would make four places for three nights. They are of negligible importance, but they illustrate the difficulties of following accurately the movements of Lincoln in a town which somehow failed to register any contemporary account of his visit. Here and there incidents of his stay are picked up, but the scraps cannot be pieced together to make a chronological story as was possible in Concord and Manchester and Dover. However, enough can be found to make an impressionistic picture of Lincoln in Exeter.

The town, which was in a few years to become the stage of Plupy and Pewt and the other zestful boys who were to attain fame when their own sons had grown up, could hardly fail to give Lincoln a welcome peculiar to herself. Out on the Newmarket road lived two youngsters who some-

how got the idea that Lincoln's coming demanded recognition. On the hill back of their father's barn they collected that Saturday afternoon as much brush as they found at hand. When the time for the rally drew near, they touched off the bonfire. The blazes leapt so merrily high as to fill any boy's heart with joy. They were seen in the village. That was intended, but the sequel was not. Soon the sound of the bells was heard in town, and then the fire engines came clattering along the road. Like many well-meant schemes of boyhood, this one had gone awry. The stricken lads hastened to scatter the brush and smother the beautiful blaze. Fortunately the frightened father, who lashed his horse back from the Town Hall, was not severe.

Just how many of the prospective audience were thus drawn away from the meeting is not recorded, but, whatever the number, plenty remained to fill the spaces the fire-chasers forfeited. Ardent townspeople had passed the word about that Abraham Lincoln was to speak that night. All the towns roundabout had been warned of the event by messengers. Dusk and early darkness found lines of travelers ploughing the muddy ways that converged in the village.

Warren James Prescott, eighteen years of age, living with his father three and a half miles out in Hampton Falls, had recently heard glowing stories about Lincoln from a young man named

Robert Atkins, who was rusticated at the Prescott home. Of course he wanted to go, but his father had only one horse and planned to take Neighbor Lane. Two were all the horse could pull through the deep mud. What to do? The enthusiastic Atkins stumped Warren to walk. Warren took him up and drew on the new pair of top boots he had just got from Tom Gadd in Exeter. The boots were none too large and had not been broken in. The going was wearisome. . . . At last they reached Exeter.

'When we arrived,' said Warren Prescott more than sixty-eight years later, 'the Exeter Band (no such band as we have in Hampton now) was trying to "blow" out in front of the Town Hall. Robert Atkins and I got up on the steps and listened. Pretty soon the band went around the building and in the back door, and blew some more inside.

'Robert and I tried to get in, but I didn't get along very fast. He was cheekier — had lived in the city — and began to push. He told me to push too. After a while we got into the hall and halfway down the center aisle. Later still we got about three quarters of the way down. and a fat Stratham woman crowded over and left me half a seat on the end of a settee.

'The Town Hall had been built only a short time. It was about the same as now, except it had no gallery then. Lincoln and the others

who sat on the platform came in by the back door and entered the stage from the right-hand end.

'When Lincoln came on, Atkins said, "There he is! That's him!" I thought, "What a darned fool I've been to walk up here through the mud to hear *that* man speak!" His feet were large and seemed to be interfering with him.

'Steve Gray, the policeman, came down from the front of the platform and tried to push back the crowd in the main aisle. He didn't succeed. Lincoln made a remark what I didn't get wholly — that the crowd was something like the Democratic Party — and a great laugh broke out.

'On the platform were Amos Tuck, Judge Stickney, James M. Lovering and Nat Gilman. I don't remember who was president of the evening. Lovering, maybe. [To a question.] No, I don't think it was Wentworth.[1] There was no particular speaking besides Lincoln's. [To another question.] Perhaps Judge Underwood spoke, but not to any length.

'When Lincoln was called upon, he came to the front of the platform, made his bow, and extended his arm. For the first three or five minutes, I'd have given anything to be at home. But after he

[1] As will later appear, Professor George A. Wentworth was said by one attendant to have presided. Another survivor, Charles F. Smith, does not remember who it was, but suggests Judge Stickney and Amos Tuck as possibilities. Professor Wentworth's daughter never heard her father speak of presiding.

got warmed up and had told a story or two, he began to attract my attention. In ten minutes, I was glad I was there.'

'Do you remember any of the stories?' the aged man was asked.

'I can't remember, but there was one about a rattlesnake in the house.' That was as far as his memory went to recapture the speech.

To another interviewer, the Reverend Edgar Warren, who wrote in the 'Boston Evening Transcript' of October 29, 1927, Warren James Prescott told much the same story. He then remembered that there was another, nameless, speaker, but the second interview found him less clear upon that point. While talking with Mr. Warren, he also remembered that William B. Morrill sat upon the platform. This must be true, for Morrill, as president of the local Republican organization, had written the letter inviting Lincoln to appear that night.

Another survivor of the audience, Burley F. Hills, thinks that nobody spoke except Lincoln and the presiding officer, whose identity he cannot recall. He says that Lincoln spoke about the Kansas question, which is more than likely. Nowhere, except in the reminiscences of Albert Blair later to be quoted, has the least scrap of the Exeter speech been found except the words 'Kansas question' and 'snake.' Even these seem to confirm, what was already probable, that the last

New Hampshire speech was in substance like the others. Charles F. Smith, who heard the speech, says that it was the Cooper Institute address in simple, homely language appropriate to a country audience.

Unfortunately the 'Exeter News-Letter,' to-day very much alive and zealous in preserving the history of the past, overlooked in 1860 a chance to record history in the making. Possibly this was because Lincoln spoke on Saturday evening, and the paper was issued on Monday. In any event, all that the newspaper said, and it is the sole contemporary source of information, was this: 'On Saturday evening last, A. Lincoln, the champion of the North West, addressed the Republicans of this town at the Town Hall, which was well filled with an enthusiastic audience, with a sprinkling of Ladies.'

So we must come back to reminiscences. Payson Merrill, of New York, who graduated from Phillips Exeter Academy in 1860, recently wrote: 'I sat on the end seat nearest the centre aisle. The building, which is not large, was filled to capacity. Mr. Lincoln was somewhat late. I do not recollect who escorted him to the platform or who presided on that occasion — I know Professor Wentworth did not.

'When I recognized that Mr. Lincoln was coming I looked up and saw a very tall man advancing with long strides. He appeared to me as tall

as anybody I had ever seen and as homely as he was tall.

'Immediately on ascending the platform he was introduced to the audience by the person presiding. There was nothing especially noticeable at the commencement of his address, but very soon he warmed up and had his audience with him. My remembrance is that it was a very effective address — and was vigorously applauded from time to time.'

Charles F. Smith, now of Wellesley, Massachusetts, then an Exeter 'townie,' heard Lincoln speak. He was interviewed in the 'Boston Evening Transcript' of December 3, 1927. His memory yielded a vivid picture of the man, the awkward, rangy, uncomfortable figure, the rugged countenance, the hollow cheeks, the deep seams around the mouth. Then the effect of the speech upon the youngsters. 'Some had laughed when he rose to speak; he cut so comical a figure disentangling his great length from the chair around which his long legs had been coiled.' As he looked over the audience with his sorrowful eyes before he began to speak, a hush fell upon them and at once established a contact.

Of all the scores of recollections examined, this and one by Isaac Andrew Hill, of Concord, are the only ones indicating that Lincoln became at once master of the situation. The Manchester 'Mirror's' story is the single contemporary account

supporting them. The impressions just mentioned are entitled to weight, but statements of a contrary implication are overwhelming in number.

Once again the speech itself eludes us, but its quality does not. 'Clearly I remember,' said Mr. Smith, 'that his power of expression was tremendous, simple in quality as the twenty-third psalm. We were all breathless.'

Albert Blair, one of Bob's classmates, was an Illinois boy. Proud of Abraham Lincoln's increasing fame, and therefore anxious lest he fail to make a good impression in academic Exeter, he occupied a front seat on Saturday evening. He could not overlook the speaker's lankness and an occasional uncouth posture or gesture. He thought, too, that some of his Western sayings must have sounded very odd to precise Easterlings. Much later he recalled more about the speech itself than is elsewhere recorded.

The attitude of pro-slavery leaders toward Douglas, said Lincoln, reminded him of the farmer out West who had a troublesome dog and wished to get rid of him. One bitter cold night the farmer decided to freeze the dog by shutting him outdoors, but somehow the dog always got back in. Finally the farmer determined to hold the dog on the north side of the house until the beast should succumb. But the dog was the better stayer, and the farmer concluded to adjourn the killing until a more favorable season.

During his speech, Blair remembered, Lincoln would put a question to the audience and pause for a reply. In one instance, after vainly awaiting an answer with an eager expectant look, he remarked: 'You people here don't jaw back at a fellow as they do out West.' But, added Blair, 'above the grotesque and the humorous, a lofty feeling was dominant. Whether in boldly meeting the imperious legalism of the South, or in laying bare the equivocations of the Douglas doctrine, or in discussing generally the great issues before the Nation, there was ever the clear, earnest call to reason in behalf of human rights which did not fail to impress every hearer.'

The classic story of the Exeter speech was written by Chancellor Snow for the Washington University 'Record.' It was copied in the Phillips Exeter 'Bulletin' of September, 1909, and quoted in Crosbie's 'Phillips Exeter Academy: A History.' Though it has appeared in several other publications, it must be repeated in any work that aims fairly to present all of the evidence. Marshall S. Snow was of the class of 1861 at Exeter. He was in the Lincoln audience. He was a trained man who recognized that he might have read into his memory things that came to him in later years, but he thought he had not done so.

The hall, as he remembered it, seated eight or nine hundred and was filled early in the evening with ladies and gentlemen of both parties. Ac-

cording to his memory, Professor Wentworth presided, but this is doubted or denied by others who were there. And the hall actually seated, as any one can ascertain by looking it over, no more than five hundred. So much having been said by way of correcting faulty memory of minor details, let us get to the pith of the matter.

Chancellor Snow placed upon the platform beside Lincoln a sharply contrasting figure, short, squat Judge John C. Underwood, of Virginia. (Though born in New York, he was that anomaly, an anti-slavery man in a slave State.) As he sat in his chair, his feet did not reach the floor. No other survivor of the audience has recalled him except perhaps vaguely. Some are sure that Lincoln was the only speaker. Charles F. Smith sat that night next to Marshall Snow. He remembers a second speaker, but does not know who he was. He is content to accept Snow's statement.

Judge Underwood, whether he appeared in Exeter or not, and he probably did, was certainly in New Hampshire at the time, speaking at Republican meetings of 'slavery and its effects from personal observation, telling how he had seen it dishonor and prostrate labor, debase and discourage the poor whites of Virginia, impoverish a State which had all the natural resources to have enabled her to have maintained the high rank she originally held.' He made a deep impression in New Hampshire. After describing

this man, Chancellor Snow projected thus the picture of Lincoln:

The other gentleman was Mr. Lincoln — tall, lank, awkward; dressed in a loose, ill-fitting, black frock coat, with black trousers, ill-fitting, and somewhat baggy at the knees. [This is obviously the tailoring of the Cooper Union photograph, not the traveling clothes worn at Concord and Dover.] Mr. Lincoln sat down in a chair reserved for him, and, with some difficulty, succeeded in arranging his long legs about or under the chair. My eyes were all for Lincoln. I saw a man whose face impressed me as one of the most interesting as well as one of the saddest and most melancholy faces that I had ever seen. His hair was rumpled, his neckwear was all awry, he sat somewhat bent in the chair, and altogether presented a very remarkable, and, to us, disappointing appearance.

Judge Underwood was introduced as the first speaker, and delivered, as I am told, a very able speech. I confess I heard none of it, nor did those of my friends who sat near me. We sat and stared at Mr. Lincoln. We whispered to each other: 'Isn't it too bad Bob's father is so homely? Don't you feel sorry for him?' Our feelings were mingled ones of curious interest in the face of this melancholy looking man and of sympathy for our friend, his son.

At last, then, Judge Underwood concluded his speech, and Mr. Lincoln was presented to us. He rose slowly, untangled those long legs from their contact with the rounds of the chair, drew himself up to his full height of six feet, four inches, and began his speech. Not ten minutes had passed before his uncouth appearance was absolutely forgotten by us boys and, I believe, by all of that large audience. For an hour and a half he held the

closest attention of every person present. I cannot recall the details of his speech. We were carried away with the arguments, with the style, and with the rapid change, now and then, from earnest, serious argument to something which in a humorous fashion would illustrate the point he was endeavoring to make. His face lighted up and the man was changed. There was no more pity for our friend Bob; we were proud of his father, and when the exercises of the evening were over and the opportunity was offered to those who desired to meet Mr. Lincoln, we were the first to mount the platform and grasp him by the hand. I have always felt that this was one of the greatest privileges of my life.

In the old Hampton Falls meeting-house there gathered next day the usual mud-time congregation. During the noonday interim between sermons, luncheon was had, not upon the grass outside as in less inclement weather, but in the sacred edifice itself. About the two stoves the people grouped themselves for warmth. By one were the women, talking of affairs of interest to them, but not to us. By the other were the men, and their topic was Abraham Lincoln and his great speech of the night before. What he said was recounted for the benefit of those who had stayed at home. Warren James Prescott, who was as faithful at religious as at political meetings, says that 'everybody was tickled; he made a big impression.'

On that Sabbath just one year before his first inaugural, Abraham Lincoln shuffled off the

thought of politics and gave himself to rest. Early in the morning he walked out Front Street and along the muddy road toward Kingston. Arriving at a fork some two miles out, he took the right hand, leaving the Kingston road, and wandered on another mile. Then he heard the pleasant roar of a river a bit to the left. Following the sound, he bore off on a crossroad and came upon Pickpocket Bridge. There he found young William H. Belknap, an Exeter printer, hanging over the rail and watching the swollen stream tumble down the falls. Lincoln joined the youth in gazing at the fascinating spectacle. As seems usually to have been his custom when other human beings were near, he engaged the youth in conversation. What was said was of little moment and was soon forgotten, but that chat with Abraham Lincoln was a lifelong satisfaction to the future town clerk of Exeter. The story that during his Exeter stay Lincoln saw a small boy fishing for eels near the Great Bridge and borrowed his rude alder pole to try his luck may be untrue, but is in keeping with the simple manner of Lincoln's casual contacts with the townspeople.

Lincoln worshiped that Sunday in the Second Church of the New Parish. The meeting-house stood in the corner of the Academy yard near the present site of the Public Library on Front Street. The edifice was removed years after Lincoln's visit, and the parish has ceased to exist. The pew

in which he sat has been preserved with great care and is now in the First Church. It was the property of Commodore John Collins Long and Mary Olivia Long, true representatives of the Exeter aristocracy of the day. The minister of the church at the time was the Reverend Orpheus T. Lanphear.

After the service Lincoln walked with Robert to the boy's lodgings in the Clarke (or Simeon Folsom) house on Hemlock Square, at the corner of High and Pleasant Streets, just over the Great Bridge. In their crossings of the river, however, the two usually took the rather shorter way over the lower bridge at the island and thence out Pleasant Street. In the portion of the house fronting on this street, in the left-hand, second-story room, the Lincolns had their Sunday dinner.

During his days in Exeter, Lincoln was seen much in Robert's company. That is one point upon which the evidence is clear and full. The father entered with real zest into the boy's interests and his companionships with the other students. This was the prime object of his trip into New England, and in spite of political calls he accomplished it. For these purely private pursuits he had Wednesday evening, Saturday afternoon, and all of Sunday afternoon and evening.

Lincoln appears in these contacts with the boys and with the townspeople he ran across to have

THE SECOND CHURCH, EXETER

been ever simple and sociable, a man thoroughly enjoying his brief snatches of holiday. A story was told by Albert Blair of a little gathering of Academy boys in Bob's room on Sunday evening. Into the chatter Lincoln entered with true boy-like spirit. Bob remarked that one of the party, Henry Cluskey, played the banjo. 'Does he?' said Lincoln in his high-pitched voice. 'Where is the banjo?' 'In my room,' replied Cluskey. 'Can't you get it?' 'Oh, I don't think you would care for it, Mr. Lincoln.' 'Oh, yes. Go get it!' And so the owner of the banjo went and fetched it from his room several blocks away, and played upon it. Lincoln listened with unaffected pleasure. 'Robert,' he said, 'you ought to have one.' What the youngsters chiefly remembered about their friend's father was that when he talked with Bob, or the boys gathered around, the deep seams of his face broke into a series of twinkling lines. Every boy was at once drawn to him, as he was to them.

Lincoln found his way into at least one Exeter home besides those of Amos Tuck and Mrs. Clarke. He called upon S. Dana Wingate, the Register of Probate, at his Franklin Street home. He had contacts with other boys than those of the Academy. One of them was Burley F. Hills, already mentioned, who remembers that Lincoln stood on the sidewalk and talked casually to him. Charles F. Smith, then sixteen years old, knew

Bob and was introduced by him to Lincoln in the post-office. 'Put it down,' says Mr. Smith, 'that Mr. Lincoln attracted the youngsters.' It was already down, but is worth repeating.

The holiday was all too short. At a few minutes before seven on Monday morning, Lincoln boarded the train for Hartford and the last week of his New England stumping. 'Although but thirteen years of age,' writes Ambrose Swasey, one of the boys who set off the bonfire Saturday night, 'I remember very well of seeing Mr. Lincoln at the railway station on Monday morning when he left for Hartford, Connecticut. As I recall, there were quite a number at the station, but not what might be called a crowd, and therefore it was not difficult to have a close view of him, and I have a clear recollection of how he looked. He certainly had a very interesting face, and while I should not call him a handsome man, yet there seemed to be nothing exceptional regarding his looks. He was very tall and straight, wore a dark suit and silk hat, and to me he appeared to be a refined, dignified, and friendly gentleman, and I shall always remember him as such.'

And thus Abraham Lincoln passed from the sight of New Hampshire, but not from her memory.

VI

WHAT CAME AFTER

The blessings and hopes of many thousands who have seen and heard him for the first time will follow him.' When George G. Fogg wrote that of Lincoln for the next issue of 'The Independent Democrat,' he could scarcely have appreciated its full import.

During his five days in New Hampshire, Lincoln had spoken four times to audiences aggregating over five thousand, perhaps over six thousand people. That was no mean number in a State which cast not much more than ten times as many votes. Every one of those five or six thousand was like a pebble cast into a calm mill-pond and throwing out circling ripples.

Barring the Senators and Representatives in Congress, Lincoln had met, or addressed, or influenced through those he saw, every important Republican leader in the most populous part of the State. During his visit he sowed seeds which only time and circumstance could bring to fruition.

Upon the mind of Lincoln the effect of the tour must have been, if not immediate, at least cumulative. He had come to see a son; he had been drawn into a local political campaign. Four

times he had been heard in the silence which his plain reasoning commanded, and always with enthusiastic acclaim at the end. That was in a sense no new experience for him. His own people at home reacted similarly. But it must have made him glow to find that the same spell that worked in the West would work in cold New England. Moreover, he had found something he could scarce expect — a spontaneous expression here and there, in this almost foreign State, that he was the man for President. He treasured it, he confided it to James A. Briggs when returning through New York after a week in southern New England had quickened the novel sensation. He mulled it over in his mind after he got back home. And then he really worked for the consummation of the idea.

Back in New Hampshire how fared the Lincoln cause after he left? Well, but with no great noise. Nobody undertook an active campaign for him. No newspaper declared for him. The press continued to discuss the chances of Seward, of Bates, of Frémont, of others, but did not at once even speculate upon Lincoln's candidacy. The seed lay deep in the ground and for some time no sprouts appeared. Sun and showers take time in such cases.

George G. Fogg kept up for a few weeks his futile and feeble talk about Frémont. Most of the leaders, however, preserved so great a silence that

their thoughts had no public circulation. The 'New Hampshire Patriot' listened for scraps of information floating about convention hall and hotel lobbies when, in late April, the Republicans chose their delegates to Chicago. It heard nothing to indicate that the men chosen were other than Frémont men or 'expediency men.' As one gathers up the threads many years later, however, one can see that the leaders were holding their counsel, waiting for circumstances to point the way. Even that made them unconsciously receptive to the Lincoln idea.

Yet consciously enough, a few were tending strongly to Lincoln, and the personnel of the delegates chosen was significant in this regard. Among them was one from each of the four towns in which Lincoln had spoken. From Concord came Edward H. Rollins, with all the power of the State Chairman, deeply impressed by his brief glimpse of the tall stranger and, it seems, ever after and increasingly a Lincoln man. Manchester furnished Benjamin F. Martin, intimately associated in business and politics with Frederick Smyth, who more definitely than any other local leader, Amos Tuck possibly excepted, had committed himself to Lincoln during the New Hampshire visit. From Dover came George Mathewson, one of the three men who induced Lincoln to speak there and his host during his stay. Finally and most important was his old friend

Amos Tuck, of Exeter, whose later statements to his son indicate that he worked zealously to bring the New Hampshire delegates into line for Lincoln. None of the other six chosen,[1] as far as appears, had any touch with Lincoln upon which to base any attachment to his candidacy, but something of the warmth of the impression he made could hardly fail by indirection at least to be communicated to them and to make them to a degree receptive.

Just before the delegates were elected, the 'New Hampshire Statesman' declared that 'a set pledged to any Republican candidate could not be hunted up in New-Hampshire, for the universal desire is, that, whoever go, they shall act as seems best, after the Convention has assembled and deliberated.' Immediately after the choice was made, the same paper said: 'They will take their seats in the Convention as uncommitted men, and with the united purpose of patiently hearing all that may be said, and then deciding as a sense of duty shall direct.'

If this current estimate were entirely correct, the logic of circumstances was bound to drive the delegates into the Lincoln camp. But it is believed, in view of what has already appeared in the course of this study, that there were active

[1] Aaron H. Cragin (ex-Congressman, later Senator), of Lebanon; William Haile (former Governor), of Hinsdale; Nathaniel Hubbard, of Tamworth; F. H. Morgan, of Francestown; Jacob Benton, of Lancaster, and J. C. Bean, of Enfield.

forces in the delegation itself, born largely of Lincoln's tour of New Hampshire, which definitely accelerated this movement.

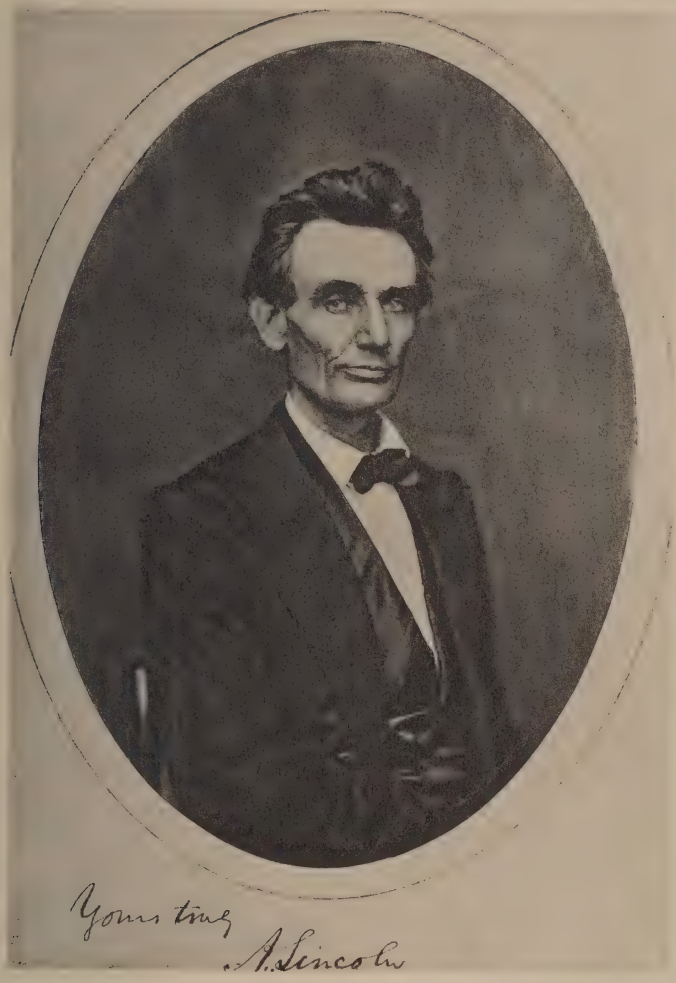
Some premonition of the unprecedented spectacle to be presented by the Chicago Convention seems to have reached New Hampshire. The local newspapers announced reduced fares to Chicago by two routes — one by way of Ogdensburg and the Grand Trunk, the other by way of Niagara Falls and the Michigan Central, the latter offering what was for those days the fast run of sixteen hours from the Falls to Chicago, with a 'grand reception' on arrival by the New-Englanders who had emigrated thither. A large number besides delegates availed themselves of the opportunity, among them the enthusiastic Calvin C. Webster, who had publicly and privately and to the candidate in particular given assurance in Concord that Lincoln would be the next President. Others from Concord were Benjamin F. Prescott, secretary of the State Committee, George H. Hutchins, and Abel Holt. Thomas Hale, editor of the 'New Hampshire Sentinel,' of Keene, was also there, and it seems likely that many more went whose names were not preserved in print.

George G. Fogg, as National Committeeman, was the first New Hampshire man to start, early in May. He left convinced that the man who could carry Pennsylvania and New Jersey should

be nominated, but not knowing who that man was. He stopped by the way at New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, and Harrisburg. All the way he listened to some purpose, and on May 11 wrote to 'The Independent Democrat's' readers from Altoona, where he was detained by washouts. What he had seen and heard was illuminating to himself and was soon passed on by him to the New Hampshire delegation.

On May 10, at Baltimore, he witnessed the last scenes of the Constitutional Union Convention, which he sketched ironically. More important he transmitted cautiously the gist of his observations as to prospects at Chicago. He wrote:

> Of the probable Republican nomination for President at Chicago, little opinion can, as yet, be formed. Mr. Seward's friends are earnest and active, and feel sure that he can be elected. The Pennsylvanians, on the other hand, very generally say he cannot carry that State. New Jersey and Indiana Republicans also seem to be very unanimous in saying he cannot carry their States. It will be the duty of the Chicago Convention to consider carefully how much weight is due to their declarations, and to decide whether any competent and reliable Republican can carry more votes, and give better promise of success.
>
> We believe that none but a reliable Republican should be nominated; and that if we can succeed at all, we can succeed with such a man. We want no old fossil, and have no belief in the availability of such. [This apparently eliminates from Fogg's list of possibilities Judge McLean and Edward Bates.] The Republican



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Photograph given to Benjamin F. Prescott at Exeter

party is a living organization having living principles, and it needs leaders who are the embodiment of those principles. Such men we expect to see nominated at Chicago next week, and elected by the people of the United States next November.

Meanwhile 'The Independent Democrat's' Chicago dispatches were mentioning Lincoln only as a vice-presidential possibility and announcing that Frémont declined to be considered for the presidency. Fogg's favorite was out of the running. He was distrustful of Seward, and his instinctive antipathy was accentuated by what his friends of the doubtful States told him. In this humor he received his New Hampshire brethren when they reached Chicago. He had to make a turn. Whither should his influence lead? The trend could give him but one answer — to the man of whom he had written, after hearing him in Concord, March 1, 'The blessings and hopes of many thousands . . . will follow him.'

Most of the New Hampshire delegates and visitors made their Chicago headquarters at the Briggs. There they found themselves in the midst of a bustle and largeness to which many of them were little accustomed. One naïvely noted that at the Briggs there were consumed daily during convention week two thousand pounds of meat, two hundred pounds of butter, and as many of sugar. Fifteen hundred people breakfasted there on Monday.

Out of the sensation and noise which marked the Chicago Convention it is difficult to construct a story which is true in detail. Many and diverse stories have been written, containing some that is true and some that is not. The central fact, that Destiny brooded there, remains almost the single indisputable one. Just what were the processes of that Destiny is not always clear, so it is impossible to gather up and state surely what was the modest part New Hampshire played in shaping the result. Yet the attempt must be made.

When the New Hampshire men arrived at Chicago, they were doubtless for the most part as open-minded as men could be under the circumstances. Some of them had individual predilections, but as a group they were for no man. Among them was some Seward feeling, but they were far from being a Seward delegation as the New York leaders fondly trusted. Among them, too, as already noted, was strong sentiment for Lincoln. In between were probably men who had no favorite at all. But in one thing they were united — they must vote for the man who could command the most strength in November. The first thing that they heard must have been such talk as Fogg picked up while on the way to Chicago. They heard it the 'night before' from Davis, Browning, and Marshall, of Illinois, and probably not for the first time. To men of their minds, with the impression made by Lincoln

while in their State, there must have been a pull in his direction which became almost immediately irresistible.

Some of the New Hampshire people did not reach Chicago until Tuesday. Thomas Hale was one of them. He at once noted that, although Seward had then the largest number of supporters, the belief was quite general that he could not win. 'To-day [Wednesday] Mr. Lincoln's chance seems about as good as any other.' The main objection against Seward was the belief that he could not carry the doubtful States. 'Mr. Lincoln, however, is popular everywhere, and is above suspicion as to his principles, and without reproach as to his moral and intellectual character. He would run well in all the north-west, and in the east also; while he would unite the opposition in the central states.' Hale, before going to Chicago, had been for Judge McLean.

This may be taken to indicate pretty well the New Hampshire sentiment as it had swiftly developed by the 'night before.' A letter sent from Chicago to 'The Statesman' after the convention was over said, 'New Hampshire and Vermont were really for Lincoln as soon as their delegates had fairly surveyed the field, although the former [latter] first cast her vote in compliment to Judge Collamer, and delegates from your own State, cast one vote each for Seward, Chase and Frémont.' To the 'New Hampshire Telegraph,' of

Nashua, reports were sent before the balloting that New Hampshire was for Lincoln, that the New England delegations had become generally split, 'and were disposed to defer to the wishes of the doubtful States, as they should.' The 'Boston Journal' correspondent rated New Hampshire as probably against Seward by Wednesday, and as unhesitatingly against him on Thursday morning.

Many people at home, apparently, expected the delegation to be for Seward and some were angry that they 'went over to Lincoln.' It is small wonder, then, that Raymond and his fellow New-Yorkers thought the same. In their bitterness they sought for a goat and found him in poor Horace Greeley, upon whom they placed all the blame for leading astray the delegations from New Hampshire and other States. Some years later Greeley correctly said, 'I did much less than was popularly supposed,' and declared that 'Lincoln was nominated for the one sufficient reason that he could obtain more electoral votes than any of his competitors.' This is the truth as it is now recognized, but at the time it was not clearly understood. Even Greeley picked, in Edward Bates, the wrong horse. He rode him to despair, while others shrewder than he took the long chance and beat Seward after Greeley gave up. He was a pitiful figure. A wag pinned to his coat-tail a paper marked 'For William H. Seward,' and, if the 'New York Times' corre-

spondent told the truth, poor Greeley went about thus labeled for several hours.

It is interesting to recall contemporary comment upon Greeley's supposed share in alienating New Hampshire from Seward. George G. Fogg had a long editorial, entitled 'New Hampshire at Chicago,' in 'The Independent Democrat' of June 7, 1860. It is prefaced by quotations from two New York editorials stating with vigor the position of the disappointed Seward leaders.

'It is not strange,' runs a clipping from the 'New York Times,' 'that Mr. Greeley's efforts should have been crowned with success. But it is certainly safe to say that no other man — certainly no one occupying a position less favorable for such an assault — could possibly have accomplished that result.'

The 'New York Courier and Enquirer' was more specific:

> A single fact will illustrate the truth of this position. On Thursday night, we spent a considerable time in the room occupied by the delegates from New Hampshire; each and every one of whom frankly declared that Mr. Seward was their first choice, and the choice of the people of their State, but that they had been made to doubt the possibility of his election. We reasoned with them to the best of our ability against any such absurdity, for such we considered it, and finally suggested whether it was not bad policy to jeopard the thirty-five votes of New York, upon the possible contingency that Mr. Seward could carry Indiana and Pennsylvania! They

hooted at the idea of endangering New York; and quoted Greeley as having said that any person nominated by the Convention, would poll twenty thousand more votes than Wm. H. Seward.

Fogg's comment was this:

Without intending to take any side in the controversy, or to be in any way a party to it, we have thought the allusion to the position and course of the New Hampshire Delegation, made it proper that *we* should say a word on a point which we certainly understand very much better than the very zealous New York editors who seek to make Mr. Greeley, of the *Tribune*, responsible for our course, as well as for the defeat of Mr. Seward.

In the first place, then, we have to say that we put a far different estimate on Mr. Greeley's efforts at Chicago, from that of the *Times*. We were in a condition to understand Mr. Greeley's movements and appreciate his influence from the beginning to the end of the convention. We met him often, and heard him oftener. We conversed with him, and heard him converse with others. But we did not hear him attack the personal or political character of Mr. Seward. He did very freely express the opinion that Mr. Seward's nomination was not expedient or safe. He did advocate, on all occasions, the nomination of Mr. Bates. And if we were to express our honest conviction, it would be that his influence was just about as decisive in one direction as the other. Mr. Bates could not be nominated by all Mr. Greeley's support; and Mr. Seward was not defeated by his opposition. Had he not attended the Chicago convention, the result would have been substantially the same.

The truth is, a very decided majority of that Convention were in favor of nominating a live, true Republican

who could be elected. No matter whether their personal preferences were for Mr. Seward, Mr. Chase, or any other man — they meant to make a nomination which should carry the country, provided the thing were practicable without a sacrifice of the cardinal principles, of the Republican party. This, we know, was the spirit in which the New Hampshire delegation went to Chicago. And in this, they represented truly their Republican constituents at home. They went there not to blindly press this man or that man, regardless of consequences. They went there not to be dictated to by either the friends of Seward or Bates; but to consult with their Republican brethren of other States, and to unite on any reliable Republican statesman whose nomination should promise the sure success of Republican principles.

It was well known before, as at the Convention, that, to insure success, the nominee must by [*sic*] a man acceptable to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois — States which the Republicans failed to carry, four years ago. This was the problem to be solved — to nominate a statesman of commanding abilities, and proved devotion to Republican principles, whose personal character and history should be able to inspire the popular enthusiasm requisite to carry those four States. Was Mr. Seward the man? This was the question New Hampshire asked and desired to have answered — not by Mr. Greeley, nor by Messrs. Raymond and Webb; but by those States themselves. What was the answer? With a united voice, the delegations from every one of those States said Mr. Seward was not the man. They all argued that their States could be carried by some other man; but that there were old prejudices against Mr. Seward among portions of their people which would render his nomination little less than suicide.

This it was, and nor [*sic*] anything said or done by

Mr. Greeley, that achieved the defeat of New York's favorite candidate. It was the conviction that his nomination would be the defeat of the Republican party. This conviction, we are aware, was not entertained by all. The special friends of Mr. Seward labored zealously to prove that the delegates from what have been termed the 'pivotal States,' were mistaken in their estimate of Mr. Seward's popularity. Appeals of the most impassioned kind were made in behalf of the distinguished New York statesman — appeals which proved the devoted attachment, if not the superior wisdom, of the appealers. Among the most zealous, if not the most wise, of these friends of Gov. Seward, was Col. Webb, of the *Courier and Enquirer*, who did, as he says, 'on Thursday night, spend a considerable time, in the room occupied by the delegates from New Hampshire.' We regret, for his sake, to add that he seems greatly to have misapprehen- [*sic*] the position of our delegation. This may be due, in part, to a degree of zeal which mistook expressions of friendship for Mr. Seward for much more than the expressors intended.

We were present during all the time Col. Webb was in the room, of the New Hampshire delegation; and we are quite sure that no word was spoken which could be fairly interpreted as intimating that the delegation had been influenced in the least by anything Mr. Greeley had said or done. The position of Mr. Greeley, as the zealous supporter of Mr. Bates, really placed him very much farther from the New Hampshire delegation than they were from any of the friends of Mr. Seward — it being the constantly avowed purpose of the delegation to support no man who was not known to be a Republican out and out, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit and purposes of the Republican party. Such a man they did not believe Mr. Bates to be. Consequently,

had the issue come where Mr. Greeley sought to make it come, between Bates and Seward, the New Hampshire delegation would have voted for Mr. Seward; and such, we believe, would have been the course of the entire delegations from Vermont and Maine.

So far is Mr. Greeley from being entitled to all the credit or discredit of defeating Mr. Seward, that he pursued a course which might very easily have achieved his nomination. It did, to our certain knowledge, delay and seriously jeopard that union and concentration on ABRAHAM LINCOLN, which, when consummated, resulted in the speedy solution of all the difficulties which beset the Republican party. That the Bates movement did no essential harm, was owing to its essential weakness. It never got hold of the hearts of anybody — not even Horace Greeley, who, we believe, is to-day thoroughly glad he was defeated, and that a wisdom wiser than his triumphed.

If this clear exposition of the motives which made New Hampshire turn to Abraham Lincoln ever found its way from a country newspaper to the metropolis, it had small effect upon the soured Seward men of New York. They continued to vent their spleen upon poor Horace and to overlook some of the most important factors in New Hampshire's decision — the essential weakness of their own splendid candidate, the issues larger than State pride, the will of the convention to make victory in November well-nigh inevitable, the fact that in Illinois had arisen political strategists cleverer than Thurlow Weed.

The Illinois leaders, with a zeal for their candi-

date as warm as Seward inspired in his followers, saw clearly the weakness of New York's candidate, visualized the larger issues. In the small New Hampshire delegation they found men who understood their language. That they got a hearing was in no small measure due to the fact that Amos Tuck had long known Lincoln and had come increasingly to admire him and believe in him. Tuck's feeling for Lincoln had been ripened in the few days Lincoln spent in New Hampshire — days which, moreover, made Lincoln personally acquainted with at least three of the other members of the delegation and awoke in thousands of their constituents an enthusiastic belief in his statesmanship. Here was a group easily to be persuaded for Lincoln — so much more easily than would have been possible if Robert Lincoln had not called a loving father to Exeter.

The little New Hampshire delegation found itself soon a cog in the wheel of Lincoln's fortunes. It was part of the Illinois strategy to get for Lincoln an impressive vote on the first ballot. One hundred delegates, they figured, would be sufficient. Including New Hampshire's seven they got two more than that. The next objective was a large and startling increase on the second ballot which should so impress the convention as to start something of a stampede for Lincoln. They realized that ambition also.

The roll of the States was called geographically.

Maine started off the first ballot with ten for Seward and six for Lincoln — heartening and yet discouraging for New York hopes. Then came New Hampshire, and when her chairman, Edward H. Rollins, announced one for Chase, one for Frémont, one for Seward, and seven for Lincoln, the air in the Wigwam must have become electric. One can imagine the ripple that went through the galleries packed with Illinois people, the excited passing of the word up through the skylight to the watcher on the roof, the relaying of the message to the announcer who yelled it to the tense thousands in the street.

The writer wishes he could tell who was the single New Hampshire delegate who then and twice after cast his determined vote for Seward, who it was that alone of all the convention cast a vote for the Pathfinder who had refused to be a candidate, who gave a vote for Chase. If anybody knows, he has not been discovered. It has been stated, upon no assigned authority, and vigorously denied by one who has the right to deny, that Amos Tuck voted for Chase, who was a close friend of many years' standing — a purely complimentary vote. Even if Amos Tuck had done so, his action under the circumstances would have been consistent with complete fealty to Abraham Lincoln, though the policy of his doing so without first making his real purpose known to his colleagues would have been doubtful.

One thing, however, is certain. Leonard Swett was assured, before the balloting began, that New Hampshire would in a small way help give the expected accessions to Lincoln on the second ballot. The delegates who voted first for Chase and Frémont shifted on the second to Lincoln in accordance with the plan. Maine, unchanging in all three ballots, allowed New Hampshire to lead the van of the great rush for Lincoln on the second ballot. Vermont, by prearrangement, turned her full vote from Collamer to Lincoln, Massachusetts stood pat, Rhode Island added three votes to the Lincoln column, and Connecticut two. Thus the three New England States in which Lincoln had recently appeared, aided by Vermont, set the ball rolling before Pennsylvania and New Jersey gave it a mighty impetus.

The second ballot, justifying the strategy of the Lincoln managers, was the really decisive one, even though it took a third and at first inconclusive one to make a nomination.[1] In the course of the numerous changes made after the third roll-call, New Hampshire's single Seward man had a belated change of heart. Edward H. Rollins, chairman of the delegation, arose and gravely

[1] First ballot: Seward, 173½; Lincoln, 102; all others, 189½. Second ballot: Seward, 184½; Lincoln, 181; all others, 99½. Third ballot (first call): Lincoln, 231½; Seward, 180; all others, 53½; necessary for a choice, 233. Before the vote was announced, Ohio shifted four votes to Lincoln, and the nomination was made.

— and correctly — announced that a mistake had been made in the New Hampshire vote, which should have been unanimous for Lincoln. It was a small part that New Hampshire played in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, but none the less an essential one, and it was a part played with the more eagerness and decision and devotion because New Hampshire had learned to know and respect and love him in the first three days of March.

The New Hampshire delegation and their guests helped with their few but ardent voices in the full-throated rejoicing with which the nomination was acclaimed. On the day after the convention, Thomas Hale was still so excited and incoherent that he wrote home that the 'nomination was responded to by such thunders of applause as was never before heard on this continent. The shouts of ten thousand voices within the great building were joined by the huzzas of ten or fifteen thousand more outside, and mingling with all were the rapid discharge of cannon, and the strains of numerous bands of music.'

In Springfield that Friday morning, Abraham Lincoln had to kill time while awaiting the returns from Chicago. He sought a chance to bowl, but the alley was full. Bob Lincoln, 'chip off the old block,' had better luck in Exeter. Late that afternoon or early that evening, the 'Boston Journal' brought to town the news of the nomination.

Albert Blair, still anxious for his Illinois idol, bought a paper. The headline so excited him that he rushed down the street to find Bob. In a bowling alley much frequented by him, the son of the next President was calmly rolling. Blair flourished the paper and yelled, 'Bob, your father got it!' 'Good!' said Bob, slapping his hip, 'I will write home for a check before he spends all of his money in the campaign.'

The day after the convention had its own stirring events in which New Hampshire had a prominent part. Of course Edward H. Rollins, as chairman of the delegation, made the pilgrimage to Springfield for the notification. Amos Tuck, upon whose motion the convention had authorized the ceremonies, was invited to go with the official party. So also was George G. Fogg, who was destined to be secretary of the National Committee for the impending campaign.

Fogg wrote an account of the trip for his paper. Leaving Chicago at about ten in the morning over the Illinois Central and Great Western Railroads, the delegates had no rest after the 'week of incessant labor and excitement.' There were scenes of enthusiasm at every stop, and the crowds forced the weary members of the party to make impromptu speeches. At Decatur there was an exhibition of three thousand rails split by Lincoln thirty years before. The owner of the farm fenced by the rails that day sold six hundred at a dollar

each. 'Whatever we may think of the wisdom of the buyers,' said Fogg, 'there is no doubt that the seller made a bargain.'

When we reached Springfield [Fogg continued], we found the city full of people and full of excitement. The whole country round about seemed to have gathered to greet the honest and noble man whose name has become the rallying cry of Freedom, Country and Victory. Preceded by a band of music and several stalwart 'rail-splitters' bearing a number of 'Old Abe's' rails, with huge brooms on the tops, our company was escorted to the Chenery House, an excellent hotel; from whence, after a little delay to enable us to wash and shake the dust from our garments, the whole company walked in procession to the house of Mr. Lincoln. Entering a double parlor, at the farther end of which stood the Presidential nominee, Mr. Ashmun made a few brief and appropriate remarks, and closed by placing in Mr. Lincoln's hands a letter signed by all the members of the Committee notifying him of his nomination and requesting an acceptance at his convenience. To this Mr. Lincoln responded as follows: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, — I tender you, and through you to the Republican National Convention, and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honor done me, which you formally announce. Deeply, and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from that honor, a responsibility which I could almost wish could have fallen upon some one of the more eminent and experienced statesmen whose distinguished names were before the Convention, I shall beg your leave to consider more fully the resolutions of the Convention, denominated the platform, and without unreasonable delay

respond to you, Mr. Chairman, in writing, not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory and the nomination accepted; and now I will no longer defer the pleasure of taking you and each of you by the hand.

No person could have witnessed and heard these remarks without being impressed with the honest sincerity of the speaker. We think no one did witness and hear without feeling new assurance that the nomination had fallen on the right man — a man who would seek, before all things, to serve his country.

Then followed a general shaking of hands, accompanied with those pleasant sallies of conversational wit which make Mr. Lincoln a favorite with all. One thing must have struck all as remarkable, the unerring quickness with which he recognized every man whom he had, though ever so casually, met before, and the distinctness with which he recollected the time and place of such meeting. It is not too much to say that everybody was pleased with the interview, and with the man. Everybody felt that the Republicans had committed their standard to a noble, honest and true man, whose highest ambition it would be to sustain the liberties and promote the interests of his country. . . . After remaining a couple of hours, and being generally introduced to Mrs. Lincoln, who is an exceedingly agreeable lady, the Committee and others departed; some to indulge in a supper at the hotel, and others to join in an enthusiastic ratification meeting held at the State House, which was addressed by Hon. Amos Tuck, Ex-Gov. Boutwell of Massachusetts, Judge Kelley of Philadelphia, and others.

At twelve o'clock, the Committee and most of those who accompanied them, took the cars to return to Chicago.

Fogg spoke on Monday night at a large rati-

fication meeting in Bloomington with Leonard Swett. There he found that Illinois was anxious to have Douglas nominated so that Lincoln could lick him in his own State and have revenge for 1858.

Joshua R. Giddings had been deeply hurt by the treatment he received at the convention. He moved to amend the platform by adding a declaration of the right of all men to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' New Hampshire stood by him to a man, but the convention voted him down. Thereupon Giddings walked out of the Wigwam and did not return until George William Curtis induced the convention to adopt an amendment of similar tenor. Just before the committee left for Springfield, Giddings was asked to send a letter to the nominee. He complied and placed in the hands of Amos Tuck this message:

DEAR LINCOLN: — You are nominated. — YOU WILL *be elected.* After your election, thousands will crowd around you, claiming rewards for services rendered. I, too, have my claims upon you. I have not worked for your nomination, nor for that of any other man. I have labored for the establishment of principles; and when men came to me asking my opinion of you, I only told them, 'Lincoln is an honest man.' All I ask of you in return for my services is, *make my statement good throughout your administration.*

Yours,

GIDDINGS

When Lincoln received this note from one old

Congressional colleague by the hands of another, he read it with undisguised satisfaction. Then he remarked that, although he should reply to very few letters, this one deserved a response and should receive it. Better than that, he justified the expectation of his old friend.

His answer to Giddings was prompt and characteristic:

Hon. J. R. Giddings,

My good Friend: Your very kind and acceptable letter of the 19th was duly handed me by Mr. Tuck. It is indeed most grateful to my feelings that the responsible position assigned me comes without conditions, save only such honorable ones as are fairly implied. I am not wanting in the purpose, though I may fail in the strength, to maintain my freedom from bad influences. Your letter comes to my aid in this point most opportunely. May the Almighty grant that the cause of truth, justice, and humanity shall in no wise suffer at my hands.

Mrs. Lincoln joins me in sincere wishes for your health, happiness, and long life.

A. Lincoln

The five years that followed the Chicago Convention found Lincoln and his New Hampshire friends becoming ever more intimate. Fogg, as secretary of the National Committee, won the trust and gratitude of Lincoln. He was appointed Minister to Switzerland, but lost his mission when Lincoln passed from power and life. Fogg always thought, and probably with some reason, that

he had considerable influence in the making of Lincoln's initial cabinet, especially in securing representation for that powerful section of the new party which had been drawn from the Democrats. In February, 1861, he wrote Lincoln a long letter, urging the wisdom of recognizing that element of the party and incidentally warning him that Seward was no friend of the successful candidate — nor was Horace Greeley. Fogg purposed to write his reminiscences of Lincoln, but a long and fatal illness overtook him before he began. It is a pity that he never did it. Perhaps nobody else in New England, except Gideon Welles, had so fine an equipment, including a precious collection of Lincoln correspondence. After Fogg's death the letters were scattered to the four winds, and hardly half a dozen remain in New Hampshire. Would that they had been kept intact and annotated by the vigorous pen of their former owner!

Lincoln seriously considered Amos Tuck for the New England member of his Cabinet, but finally passed him by in favor of another former Democrat, Gideon Welles.[1] Tuck was content, however, with the naval office in Boston. His intimacy with the Lincolns was so close that he accompanied Mrs. Lincoln on the occasion of her shopping tour in New York before the inauguration.

[1] See note in the Appendix.

The New Hampshire triumvirate had touch with Lincoln to the end. All of them went to Washington. William E. Chandler, years later to be there as Senator, held departmental positions during the war that gave him only incidental contacts with Lincoln, but he was always his warm admirer and supporter. In 1864, he went back home to attend the New Hampshire Convention, the first of that year in any State. He found that there was danger of the convention being manipulated in support of the candidacy of Salmon P. Chase. With his customary alertness, Chandler took the gathering by surprise and made it declare for Lincoln before anybody had the wit to say him nay. It was a uniquely valuable service to his chief.

Nehemiah G. Ordway was sergeant-at-arms of the National House of Representatives in wartime and had something more of contact with the President than mere residence in Washington could give. He had an official share in the Lincoln obsequies.

Edward H. Rollins was in Congress throughout the Lincoln administrations and was upon terms of some intimacy with the President. For him Lincoln made the last courtesy endorsement of a document that it was his privilege to write.[1] The paper is still preserved in the Rollins family. Rollins was with Lincoln when he drew his last

[1] See note in the Appendix.

breath, and represented New Hampshire in the long and harrowing cortège from Washington to Springfield. He and Ordway thus linked the coming of Abraham Lincoln to New Hampshire with his departure from earthly life — and with what between of glory and torment!

A young New Hampshire woman, Edna Dean Proctor, voiced the devotion of those of her State who had lovingly served Abraham Lincoln during those five long years:

> Not for thy sheaves nor savannas
> Crown we thee, proud Illinois!
> Here in his grave is thy grandeur,
> Born of his sorrow thy joy.
> Only the tomb by Mount Zion
> Hewn for the Lord do we hold
> Dearer than his in thy prairies,
> Girdled with harvests of gold.

THE END

APPENDIX

I

THE SNAKE IN BED WITH THE CHILDREN

As far as I can discover, no trace of this illustrative argument appears in any of Abraham Lincoln's speeches prior to the one at Concord on March 1, 1860. Its use there was apparently experimental. With some possible embellishments it was repeated in Manchester, Dover, and Exeter. The remark at Manchester that John Brown struck the snake injudiciously was perhaps made nowhere else. The reports of the speeches are so meager that it is impossible to say whether the argument was fully developed in New Hampshire. At New Haven a few nights later, Lincoln's argument ran thus:

> If I saw a venomous snake crawling in the road, any man would say I might seize the nearest stick and kill it; but if I found that snake in bed with my children, that would be another question. I might hurt the children more than the snake, and it might bite them. Much more, if I found it in bed with my neighbor's children, and I had bound myself by a solemn compact not to meddle with his children under any circumstances, it would become me to let that particular mode of getting rid of the gentleman alone. But if there was a bed newly made up, to which the children were to be taken, and it was proposed to take a batch of young snakes and put them there with them, I take it no man would say there was any question how I ought to decide!
>
> That is just the case. The new Territories are the newly made bed to which our children are to go, and it lies with the Nation to say whether they shall have snakes mixed up with them or not. It does not seem as if there could be much hesitation what our policy should be.

II

LONG JIM WILSON

Had James Wilson, of Keene, emigrated with John Wentworth from New Hampshire to Illinois, he would inevitably have qualified for a tenth member of the 'Long Nine.' He was a son of James Wilson, who had represented New Hampshire in the years 1809–11 in Congress. Long Jim had a prepossession for politics. He represented Keene in the New Hampshire Legislature in all of the years 1825 to 1840 except three. He was the Whig candidate for Governor in 1838 and 1839, but was defeated. His party sent him to Congress the same year that Illinois sent Abraham Lincoln, and he was returned for a second term, after which he went to California. He returned to Keene at about the time Lincoln came to New Hampshire.

'The Mirror's' comparison of Lincoln and Wilson was not wholly fanciful. Like Lincoln, Wilson was six feet and four inches tall, though of ampler figure. Like him, he was of ready wit and could tell a story without sobering his audience. He, too, had great facility in language. His voice, however, was stentorian, not high-pitched. People of all shades of political belief flocked to hear Wilson, as they did to listen to Lincoln, and manifested the same confidence in his integrity.

Wilson was even more uncompromising than Lincoln in opposing the extension of slavery, and was far earlier in making up his mind. Lincoln, during his last days in Congress, may have heard Wilson utter these defiant words:

Gentlemen need not talk to me, or attempt to frighten me by threats of the dissolution of the Union. Sir, I do not permit myself to talk or even to think about the dissolution of the Union; very few Northern men do. We all look upon such a thing as impossible. But, sir, if the alternative should be presented to me of the extension of slavery or the dissolution of the Union, I would say, rather than extend slavery, let the Union, aye, the universe itself, be dissolved! Never, never, will I raise my hand or my voice to give a vote by which slavery can or may be extended. As God is my judge, I cannot, I will not, be moved from the purpose I have now announced.

III

THE NEW ENGLAND CABINET MEMBER

Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin met at Chicago on November 22, 1860. Among other things they discussed cabinet appointments. The name of Gideon Welles was the subject of special consultation. Lincoln's first impression was favorable. Later on it was confirmed by sundry letters of recommendation, but for a long time no decision was made.

On December 24 Lincoln wrote to Hamlin:

> I need a man of Democratic antecedents from New England. I cannot get a fair share of that element in without. This stands in the way of Mr. Adams. I think of Governor Banks, Mr. Welles, and Mr. Tuck. Which of them do the New England delegation prefer? Or shall I decide for myself?

Delegated thus to determine the New England appointment, Hamlin was in some doubt. He knew both Tuck and Welles. He took advice from other New-Englanders, as Lincoln had intimated was his desire. Among those whose opinion he sought was George G. Fogg, Amos Tuck's old friend. Fogg for some reason espoused the candidacy of Welles. After much hesitation, Hamlin decided for Welles. Within a year he had a personal difference with the Secretary of the Navy. To the end of his days he regretted his decision.

This statement, not wholly consistent with the 'Diary of Gideon Welles,' is based upon Nicolay and Hay, III, 367, Hamlin's 'Life of Hannibal Hamlin' and Corning's 'Life of Amos Tuck.'

IV

WHAT LINCOLN WROTE FOR ROLLINS

THE statement in the text about Lincoln's last courtesy endorsement of a document deserves particularization. As stated on pages 187 and 188 of James O. Lyford's 'Life of Edward H. Rollins,' the story is this:

It is interesting to note that the last official signature of Abraham Lincoln is in the possession of the Rollins family. About five o'clock in the afternoon of April 14, 1865, Rollins called upon the President to secure his endorsement on a petition from New Hampshire addressed to the Secretary of War. Lincoln had finished his day's business and left his office in the White House, going up-stairs. On receiving Rollins's card, he returned to meet him. Lincoln took the petition on his knee and wrote his endorsement, dated it, and signed his name. As Rollins took his departure, Lincoln gave orders to the doorkeeper to admit no one to the White House. As Lincoln's assassination followed that evening, Rollins did not present the petition, but kept it as a memento of the martyred President, forwarding the request of his New Hampshire constituents in another way. A few years later this petition was shown to Schuyler Colfax by Senator Rollins's son, Edward W. Rollins, and the time and circumstances connected with the President's signature related. Colfax said that it was undoubtedly Lincoln's last signature, as he dined with the President that night and after dinner escorted him to the carriage which was to take him to the theatre. Colfax said that while he was at the White House in the evening Lincoln performed no official act.

The endorsement reads: 'Hon. Secretary of War, please see and hear Hon. Mr. Rollins, & oblige him if you consistently can. A. Lincoln. April 14, 1865.'

While this was, as stated in the text, apparently the last courtesy endorsement written by Abraham Lincoln, Colfax was probably mistaken in thinking it was Lincoln's last signature. According to John W. Starr, Jr., who has made a valuable study of 'Lincoln's Last Day,' Lincoln wrote his name five times while Colfax was in the White House that evening. This particular document is not mentioned in that work. Apparently it escaped the notice of all Lincoln writers.

V

DID LINCOLN CONVINCE WILLIAM F. GOODWIN?

William F. Goodwin questioned Lincoln during the Concord address, and was silenced. Did Isaac Andrew Hill exaggerate when he said a generation later that Goodwin acknowledged himself wrong and Lincoln right? We have nowhere Goodwin's direct word for it, but he at least contributed to the 'Democratic Standard' no attack on Lincoln's address. In view of the usual violence of that sheet, the silence may have meaning.

At any rate, Goodwin had so little bitterness towards Lincoln that, in his part-time capacity as librarian of the New Hampshire Historical Society, he wrote Lincoln on August 9, 1860, requesting the gift of a copy of the 'Douglas Debates.' Lincoln sent it. Goodwin made the book an item of unique interest. First he inserted the letter of transmittal written by John G. Nicolay from Springfield on August 14, 1860, and addressed to Goodwin. For good measure he included the envelope in which the letter came. Then he tore from the wrapper of the parcel the portion bearing the stamps and the superscription in Nicolay's hand and pasted it inside the front cover. The fly-leaf bears the inscription by Lincoln: 'Presented to the New Hampshire Historical Society, by A. Lincoln —'

Of course Goodwin acknowledged the gift which he had so carefully dressed for future generations. Oliver R. Barrett owns the letter of thanks and has courteously permitted its use here. The jocular postscript indicates that when Lincoln silenced Goodwin, the latter at least did not become unfriendly.

VI

THE PORTRAITS OF LINCOLN IN THIS VOLUME

The frontispiece is reproduced by permission from a tintype in the collection of the New Hampshire Historical Society, owners of the copyright. The original was long owned by the late Colonel Charles H. Greenleaf. Who made it is not known. At one time it was thought that it might have been taken during Lincoln's visit to Concord. Two facts seem to rebut that theory. First, there was hardly time for Lincoln to make a sitting and do all of the things he is known to have done during the scant five hours he was in Concord. Secondly, the taking of such a picture in 1860 required a strong light, which was dismally lacking in Concord on March 1, 1860.

Experts have surmised that the tintype is the reproduction of a steel engraving. The general likeness to Brady's Cooper Union photograph of February 27, 1860, is obvious, but there are some differences in detail which make it unlikely that it was a direct reproduction. According to Dr. Barton, the Brady photograph became 'the basic copy of a large crude painting displayed at the Chicago Convention.' A photograph of the 'Wigwam portrait' is hardly distinguishable from the frontispiece.

I lately picked up a copy of the campaign 'lives' of Lincoln and Hamlin by W. D. Howells and John L. Hayes. My initial interest in this book was that one of the authors was the same John L. Hayes who figures in the first chapter of this book. When I opened that book

of 1860, behold, a frontispiece portrait of Abraham Lincoln engraved on steel and having all of the distinguishing marks of the tintype. It bears the legend: 'Photograph by M. B. Brady. Engd. by J. C. Buttre, N.Y.' It seems likely that the tintype was taken from the Buttre engraving. In any event, it is a beautiful likeness of Lincoln as he looked when he visited New Hampshire.

Benjamin F. Prescott, Esq., of Milford, New Hampshire, has generously allowed publication of the photograph given by Lincoln to the father of the present owner. The elder Prescott was, as noted in the text, secretary of the Republican State Committee when Lincoln visited New Hampshire.

This picture, in a contemporary frame, is unquestionably the most valuable memorial that Lincoln left of his visit to New Hampshire. The inscribed copy of the 'Douglas Debates' elsewhere noted, while sought and given because of that visit, was not, like the portrait, left by Lincoln here.

The prints of the negative from which this picture was made are usually rectangular, but this print was trimmed elliptically so as to remove a part of the picture, notably Mr. Lincoln's hands and a portion of the chair back. The portrait is mounted on a large white card on which Lincoln wrote the inscription. Upon the back of the frame is a typewritten memorandum stating that Mr. Lincoln presented the picture to Mr. Prescott at Exeter on March 3, 1860. This memorandum is a copy of an earlier one in Governor Prescott's hand which formerly occupied the same place.

It is of small importance when and by whom the photograph was taken, but curiosity prompted an inquiry which has not been successful. Messrs. Frederick H. Meserve and Oliver R. Barrett were asked

for information. Both independently stated their belief that the photograph was taken at Springfield on May 20, 1860. Francis Trevelyan Miller's *Portrait Life of Lincoln* assigns the photograph, without stating the evidence, to some indeterminate time prior to the nomination on May 18, 1860.

It is impossible to state when and by whom the photograph was made.

VII
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	George B. N. Dow, Manchester.
	Miss Maria Merrill, Goffstown.
Dover.	John W. Abbott, Dover.

Exeter. Warren James Prescott, Hampton.
Burley F. Hills, Raymond.
Charles F. Smith, Wellesley, Massachusetts.
Payson Merrill, New York.

(All the above except the last I interviewed. I also talked with Ambrose Swasey, of Cleveland, John E. Robertson, of Sunapee, and Miss Susan Woodman, of Dover, all of whom saw Lincoln in New Hampshire, but did not hear him speak. They disclosed valuable information.)

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Many people not already mentioned have given me information or have put me upon the track of it. For their generous help I am indeed grateful. At the risk of overlooking some I should remember, I mention with appreciation Harry F. Lake, the late Walter S. Baker, Miss Frances M. Abbott, George M. Fletcher, and Miss Alice G. Cochran, of Concord; Edward Tuck, of Paris; Nehemiah Ordway Whitford, of Warner; Frank W. Buxton, Charles E. L. Wingate, Elias McQuaid, Mrs. Mildred F. Taylor, and George F. Bean, of Boston; Edward W. Rollins, Mrs. Annie Wentworth Baer, Miss Mary Stevens, Mrs. Andrew Hall, Bert Wentworth, and Mrs. Ethelyn Owen, of Dover; Mrs. Alexander J. M. Joiner, of Somerville, Massachusetts; Professor James A. Tufts, Henry A. Shute, Perley Gardner, Mr. and Mrs. Albertus T. Dudley, Mrs. W. Burt Folsom, Miss Ellen L. Wentworth, and William Folsom, of Exeter; Benjamin F. Prescott, of Milford; Mrs. Percy Coe Eggleston, of New London, Connecticut; Paul M. Angle, of Springfield, Illinois; Miss Frances E. Moulton, of Exeter; Frederick H. Meserve, of New York; Oliver R. Barrett, of Chicago.

I acknowledge the courtesies of the libraries of the State of New Hampshire and the New Hampshire Historical Society; also of the cities of Manchester, Dover, and Boston and of the town of Exeter, as well as of Phillips Exeter Academy and the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

To three friends I am particularly grateful. Harry F. Lake has constantly advised and encouraged me in my researches, while Harlan C. Pearson, of Concord, and Ozias D. Mathewson, of Lyndon Center, Vermont, have kindly read and commented upon the manuscript.

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